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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1825



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ALBANIAN GYMNASTS TO KOSOVO--The national gymnastic team left for Kosovo where it will give performances in Pristina and other cities. The team is led by the director of professional sports high school of Durres District. [AU062125 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Oct 80]

FOLKLORE GROUP TO KOSOVO--The folk group of Radio Shkoder, headed by the general vice-director of the Radio-Television, Marash Hajati, left for a tour of performances of Kosovo. Yesterday, the group was seen off by the general director of Radio-Television, Cajup Rusmali, and other working people of this institution. [Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 6 Sep 80] The folk group of Radio-Shkodra, headed by the general vice-director of Radio-Television Marash Hajati, returned from Kosovo yesterday. Present to welcome the group was the head of the section of education and culture in the executive committee of the Shkodra District people's council Bahri Dervishi and working people of art and culture. [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 28 Sep 80]

CSO: 2020

'ATA' REVIEWS NEW HOXHA BOOK 'THE KHRUSHCHEVITES'

AU071423 Tirana ATA in English 7 Oct 80

[ATA headline: "Comrade Enver Hoxha's New Work 'The Khrushchevites'--Another Testimony to the Principled Struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania, PLA, Against Modern Revisionism"]

[Text] Tirana, 7 Oct (ATA)--Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "The Khrushchevites"--memoirs, another work in the series of the memoirs by the author, after that "With Stalin," which was published in December 1979, came off the press these days.

The book "The Khrushchevites," through the impressions and reminiscences of the author from the contacts with the leaders of the CPSU and other communist and workers' parties, provides a vivid and concrete tableau about the development of the relations between the PLA and those parties over the period 1953-1961, since the death of Stalin till the final break off with the Khrushchevites.

-Book which analyses the activity of the Soviet leaders who came to power after Stalin's death and discovers and portrays their character as unscrupulous and undignified politicians-

Speaking about the Soviet leaders who came to power after Stalin's death, apart from the political and ideological analysis of their activity, which has been made also elsewhere, in this book, Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the basis of his personal recognition, discovers and portrays also the character of these unscrupulous and undignified politicians, who did not hesitate to alter the flatteries, promises for aid with the skirmishing of the teeth of the super-state, with the false statement about internationalism with the blockade of starvation.

-The factors that brought about the great tragedy of the Soviet Union-

What characterizes the book "The Khrushchevites" is the organic interlacing of the reminiscences for a period of time with the analytical reflections, either for that period of time, or about the later development. Thus, through the vivid presentation of facts, the author writes down the opinions about the factors that brought about the great tragedy in the Soviet Union, opinions which have played a role of theoretical and practical importance in the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania to know and expose the modern revisionists in time and which have served, in particular, not to allow such a revisionist retrogression in our country, as

the one that occurred in many former socialist countries. Bureaucracy and technocratism, the loss of the revolutionary vigilance, the domination of the apparatchiki on the party and the state, the creation of the megalomaniac caste, sick euphoria, the running after posts and privileges and, above all, the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist guiding compass, are some of the roots of the evil the book underlines.

-The road of the Khrushchevites towards the usurpation of power was the road of intrigues, putsches, liquidation of the opponents, slanders, mysterious murders.

Stressing that J.V. Stalin's line was correct, Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha brings to the fore the counter-revolutionary role of Khrushchev, Mikoyan and others, who, for their own ends, created a situation of euphoria in the party, built up the cult of Stalin, but, in fact they were distorting his directives and were preparing their counter-revolutionary plot in the darkness. Their road towards the usurpation of the power was the road of intrigues, putsches, liquidation of the opponents, slanders, mysterious murders. The success of their plot was also favoured by the stand of the old guard of the Soviet leaders, who were considered as co-fighters of Stalin, but who had lost their revolutionary spirit, who had become politically sclerotic and had been turned into corpses of Bolshevism.

The conflict between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leadership was a conflict which was matured gradually through numerous clashes on an ideological and political basis. It had to do with major problems of the theory and practice of the revolution, with the strategy and tactics of the communist movement, with the stand towards the enemies of the revolution, the peoples as well as towards the distorters of Marxism-Leninism.

-The book shows the ways and methods employed by the Khrushchev's group in power to break this principled and firm stand of the PLA, but which yielded no result-

Through the pages of this new work Comrade Enver Hoxha shows in a convincing way how our party withstood the sick spirit that the Soviet Khrushchevites spread in the international communist movement. Its principled and unwavering stand was manifested openly at 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings, at the talks and meetings with the Soviet leaders, at the Bucharest meeting, etc.

The author brings to the fore all the ways and methods employed by the Khrushchev's group in power to break this stand. The official talks, the invitations for "holidays," the "occasional" meetings, receptions, the deceitful generosity, hypocrisy, bugging devices, the KGB agents, the open provocations and blackmail, constituted the preferred arsenal of the machiavellian policy of the Khrushchevites. But these means which had yielded their fruits in other countries, where the sound elements were liquidated and Khrushchev's men were brought to power, in Albania did not yield the results he wanted to achieve to.

-In his new book Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses the efforts of the Soviet revisionist leadership to transform the socialist countries into Gouberna [Vassal states] depending on the Soviet metropolis-

The efforts of the Soviet revisionist leadership to subdue our country were a continuation of their policy to transform the socialist countries into Gouberna depending on Soviet metropolis. To achieve these aims, the Khrushchev's group carried out a feverish activity to eliminate the revolutionary leaders, instigated the anti-Marxist elements in the other parties and put them in the leadership. The unprincipled policy incited it to rely on Nagy, Gomulka and other punished enemies and strike bargainings with them and their supports to the detriment of the peoples and socialism. The events in Poland, especially the counter-revolution in Hungary in 1956, as the book shows, strengthened the doubts of our party about the policy of the Soviet leadership.

-In the book "The Khrushchevites" a prominent place is held by the events of 1960, the Bucharest meeting and that of Moscow, in which the Party of Labour of Albania openly launched its attack against Khrushchevite revisionism.

A prominent place is held in the book by the important events of 1960, the Bucharest meeting and that of Moscow, in which the Party of Labour of Albania openly launched its attack against Khrushchevite revisionism. Speaking about the [word indistinct] Comrade Enver said that the principled stand adopted by the Party of Labour of Albania, as time proved it, was conditioned by no pragmatic, economic, financial or military interest. The Marxist-Leninist position of our party, courageously and faithfully expressed by Comrade Hysni Kapo, was dictated only by the lofty aim to defend the Marxist-Leninist norms, to oppose the Khrushchevite dictate. This resolute opposition was transformed at the Moscow meeting into a sting blow against modern revisionism which had seized the power in the CPSU and in many other communist and workers' parties.

The relations of our party and country with the other parties and socialist countries find also their reflection in the book through the visits, meetings, contacts the author has had with a number of leaders of these countries, as well as through the impressions and characterization he makes them. The book speaks with great affection and warmth for such leaders as Dimitrov, Gottwalt, Kolarov, Pieck, Bierut and others, who were internationalists and genuine friends of the Albanian people. While with regard to those who came to power later on, the book underlines their indifferent, under-rating, unfriendly and later on the hostile stand, even the pursuance by them towards our country of a policy according to the revisionist conductor's baton. With the line they pursued, they not only caused damage to the international communist movement, but also gravely hit the fundamental interests of their countries. It was this policy which put these countries under the domination of the Khrushchev's group and later on under that of Brezhnev, whereas the resolute stand of our party was decisive for the safeguard of the independence of our socialist homeland.

CSO: 2020

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL ATTACKS CHINA'S DISARMAMENT POLICY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 120, 11 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Attacks Beijing's Position on Disarmament Question." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin has sharply attacked Beijing's attitude in the disarmament issue. The semiofficial East Berlin journal DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 8/1980, stated that China was pursuing a dangerous conception of conventional and nuclear rearmament. By establishing a worldwide "united anti-Soviet front" China wished to block the initiatives for disarmament and arms limitation issuing from the socialist countries. Beijing's "destructive attitude" to this key issue of international politics had "become an obstacle threatening further progress on disarmament and arms limitation." China thereby was reinforcing the "most reactionary circles of imperialism," which, for their part, sought to prevent any step toward arms reduction. Consequently China's "disarmament demagogy" had to be "constantly unmasked and resolutely rejected."

PRC's 'Hegemonistic' Goals

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 25 No 8, Aug 80 signed to press 3 Jul 80 pp 109-126

[Article by Dr Bernd Kaufmann, Humboldt University, East Berlin; and Dr Guenter Raube, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg: "The Policy of the Chinese Leaders in Questions of Disarmament"]

[Text] Emphatically reiterated at the Twelfth SED Central Committee Meeting were Erich Honecker's words, spoken at the meeting of the Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of kreis leadership organizations of 25 January 1980 in Berlin: "That which matters most of all at this time and upon which everything ultimately depends is the resolute defense of peace."¹ At the important meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries on 14 and 15 May last in Warsaw it was unanimously agreed that, following the U.S. Government's shift from detente to confrontation, the international situation has seriously worsened and the threat to peace

and detente risen considerably. Consequently the Warsaw Pact countries, inspired by the goal of securing peace, adopted significant initiatives to give new impetus to detente, provide a new push in the struggle for an end to the arms race and achieve effective measures for disarmament, thereby lessening the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear world war. In his address to the Twelfth Central Committee Plenum concerning the convocation of the Tenth SED Congress, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, rightly noted:

"When thinking of the future, mankind at the beginning of the 1980's thinks primarily of securing peace. All those on the international scene, who hold governmental responsibility will be judged by their contribution to the settlement of this the main issue of our time."²

The same fully applies to the policy of the Chinese leaders, especially as regards detente and disarmament. The People's Republic of China is a major power and, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council together with the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France, holds a very particular responsibility for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace.

However, the current Chinese leaders not only do not meet this responsibility, since Mao Zedong's death in 1976 they have increasingly emphasized a foreign policy hostile to peace, detente and progress. Efforts to achieve domination in international relations have evidently come to the fore. China's brutal military attack on socialist Vietnam in the spring of 1979 demonstrates that the responsible Chinese leaders are ready and able to switch from cold to hot war in the interest of implementing their policy directed to regional and global hegemony. At the same time, and as shown by their military defeat in Vietnam, they overestimate their potential and scope.

The Chinese leaders have chosen collaboration with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. As a consequence of its unprecedented "opening" to the West China intends to become a world power of the first rank with the aid and at the side of imperialism, doing so by accelerated economic, scientific-technological and military "modernization." To gain the aid of the developed capitalist countries, above all the United States, anti-Sovietism was escalated, the aggressive policy of the Carter Administration stimulated and supported, and imperialism offered a joint global "containment strategy" directed against world socialism, in particular its major power, the Soviet Union. The Chinese leaders are intent, if possible, to incite the Soviet Union and the United States to a military conflict in order at least to weaken them and thus more quickly transform China into a power dominating the world.

As the initiation of military links demonstrates, relations between China and the United States are oriented to the emergence of an ad hoc alliance. At the same time the two sides confront one another not only as allies but

also as rivals with their own hegemonistic goals. While increasingly those laws and motive forces become active between China and imperialism, which are typical for inner-imperialist proportions of forces, and while China is becoming dependent on the economically far superior imperialist countries, discussions and disputes are increasing in China about the manner and goals of the country's "modernization." Exacerbated thereby is the contradiction between the great power chauvinist policy of the Chinese leaders on the one hand and the objective requirements of the economic construction in China as well as its international relations on the other.

Against this background the foreign policy of the Chinese leaders on the threshold of the 1980's has become a main spring for international tension; it now represents a factor complicating the international situation, even destabilizing it in some regions and, above all, seriously prejudicing the struggle for peace, security, disarmament and arms limitation.³

The Evolution of the PRC's Attitude to the Security of Peace, Detente and Disarmament

In the wake of the shift, begun in the late 1950's, of the PRC's foreign policy from anti-imperialism to antisocialism, its attitude to the issues of war or peace, political and military detente, disarmament and arms limitation also was subject to a fundamental revision. To the degree that the effort to achieve hegemony became the ruling concern of Chinese foreign policy, hostility to detente and disarmament increased, conventional and nuclear armament was emphasized in order to enable the PRC to carry on a policy of strength, a policy of dictate, blackmail and military threats toward the Soviet Union, the Asian neighbor countries and world socialism.

In the 1950's PRC policy regarding military detente and disarmament, just as its overall foreign policy, was part and parcel of the total strategy of the countries of socialism. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution Mao Zedong stated in Moscow on 6 November 1957:

"The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries have long made every effort to lessen international tension. The proposal repeated submitted by the Soviet Union on the issue of disarmament and the ban on the production, testing and use of weapons of mass annihilation reflects the common attitude of all socialist countries and, at the same time, responds to the interest of the peoples of the world."⁴

The first constitution of 18 September 1954 postulated the struggle for world peace as China's "unalterable policy" and thus elevated it to a constitutional principle. The Eighth CCP Congress (1956) specially honored the socialist countries active and united advocacy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

In those years the Government of the People's Republic of China developed its own measures. The main emphasis of its actions was logically directed to the assurance of peace in the Asian-Pacific region, coupled with the reduction of the tensions caused there by the United States. The PRC concentrated on defusing such conflicts as directly threatened the security of the Chinese state. Prominent was the dispatch of volunteers to Korea (1950) and the struggle--conducted jointly with the USSR and the other socialist countries--for an end to the Korean War. In the creation of friendship and assistance concluded in 1950-1956 as well as in communiques and joint declarations with other socialist states the PRC obligated itself actively to participate in securing peace and champion definite steps toward disarmament.

The Permanent Committee of the National People's Congress adopted a resolution enthusiastically endorsing the important appeal on disarmament addressed by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 10 May 1955 to the parliaments of all other countries. China strongly condemned the conclusion of a separate peace treaty between the United States and Japan as well as the remilitarization of Japan and the FRG. The treaty on trade and communications between the Chinese region of Tibet and India of 29 April 1954 first contractually formulated the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The PRC offered a considerable contribution to the implementation of détente and peaceful coexistence at the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries in April 1955. On 30 July 1955 the Chinese Government submitted to the countries of Asia, the Pacific region and the United States a proposal to replace military blocs by a collective peace pact. In April 1957 it suggested the establishment of an Asian security system involving the United States, the USSR, Japan, the PRC, Burma, Indonesia and India. Finally, in March 1958, the Chinese Government advocated the creation of a peace zone in Asia, free of nuclear weapons. Repeated initiatives were launched to improve relations with Japan and (from 1955 in Chinese-American talks at ambassadorial level) to normalize relations with the United States.

The Chinese leaders constructive peace policy met with the complete approbation of the overwhelming majority of the people. Witness are the hundreds of millions of signatures collected in China for the first Stockholm Appeal and the Berlin Peace Appeal of the Peace Council which was prominent in the 1950's international movement against nuclear arms. This policy, directed to the stabilization of the situation and the security of peace in the Asian-Pacific region considerably contributed to the rise of the PRC to an acknowledged anti-imperialist force which gained steadily in international influence. The USSR and the other socialist countries proved to be its natural allies. The United States carried on a policy of open hostility toward China. Its occupation of Taiwan and especially the threatened U.S. intervention in the People's Republic of China, which was involved in the aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea left even the most nationalist forces in Beijing no choice but to consider U.S. imperialism its arch foe. In the first years of the People's Republic of China, therefore, the country's alliance, security and disarmament policy was

mainly directed against the far superior military power of the United States threatening to blockade and contain the PRC.

At the end of the 1950's Mao Zedong gradually and at first secretly, though later more and more openly, subjected this tried and tested policy to a fundamental correction which, in subsequent years, degenerated into a "special line" and, since the late 1960's, has been dominated by anti-Sovietism and great power chauvinism. The nationalist forces in particular, grouped around Mao Zedong, made every effort to adopt a dominating attitude initially within the framework of the socialist world system and the international communist movement, and later vis-a-vis the national liberation movement and the developing countries. This had the result that the PRC began to hold an increasingly militant and adventurist attitude on the issue of war or peace, the policy of peaceful coexistence and, therefore, especially the role of the military factor in politics. The most obvious reflection of this attitude was the growing assertion that a world war was "inevitable," that the overthrow of the capitalist system could thus be made to happen worldwide and far more quickly, and that the nuclear bomb should merely be considered a "paper tiger." This conception opposed to the peace and security policy of the socialist states initially involved the doctrine of militant "anti-Americanism" designed to incite a military conflict between the USSR and the United States. This doctrine came to the fore in the 1958 Taiwan crisis and the provocation of military border clashes with India (1959 and 1962). At the same time military cooperation with the Soviet Union was revoked and nuclear armament pushed.

Consequently the actions of the Chinese leaders in matters of disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament diverged further and further from the policy of the socialist countries and finally postulated their hostility to the security of peace and disarmament. In June 1960, on the occasion of a conference in Beijing of the World Trade Union Federation, the PRC first displayed its open rejection of general and complete disarmament as the achievable goal of socialist disarmament policy by describing this goal as an "illusion" as long as imperialism persisted.⁵ The real reason for this attitude was the fact that, in the interest of their own rearmament designed to carry out its plan for domination, the Maoists no longer wished for disarmament; and tried to hide this by the doctrine of the necessity of a "decisive military struggle against imperialism." To recruit the national liberation movement as allies for this attitude, the Chinese leaders hypocritically claimed that disarmament was not in the interest of the peoples fighting for national independence, because they would thus be unarmed against imperialism.

The fundamental change in the PRC's attitude to disarmament in general and to nuclear disarmament in particular occurred in the early 1960's. It was coupled at the same time with the effort to develop an independent Chinese disarmament conception. The CCP's Maoist "proposal on the general line of the international communist movement" of 14 June 1963 basically marked the end of the process of China's abandonment of joint proceedings with the

USSR and the other socialist countries on the disarmament issue. The USSR's proposals for achieving general and complete disarmament were denigrated as "aiding and abetting imperialist aggression and war policies."⁶

Efforts at Domination and Hostility to Disarmament

On 16 October 1964 the PRC exploded a uranium-235 nuclear device in the region of Lop Nor in the Uighur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang. Consequently the PRC joined the United States, the USSR, Britain and France as the fifth country with nuclear weapons capability.

The Chinese leaders believed that they now held a decisive power instrument to buttress their hegemonistic aspirations. Their turning away from the alliance with the USSR more and more obviously shifted to open hostility. It was thus no accident that Mao Zedong in the very same year questioned the territorial status quo in Europe and Asia, which was the result of World War II, put forward territorial demands vis-a-vis the USSR and reiterated the claim to incorporate the sovereign Mongolian People's Republic.⁷ Mao Zedong and his followers believed to act from a position of equality with regard to the main imperialist countries, especially the United States, and to be able on this basis to come to an understanding with them.⁸

The first Chinese nuclear bomb test demonstratively underlined the Chinese leaders' claim to establish China as a major power, "independent" of both social systems, as well as their intention as much as possible to profit from the worldwide clash of the socialist and imperialist systems in the interest of pressing ahead with their selfish goals. China's possession of nuclear weapons accelerated the further evolution of its foreign policy in the direction of antisocialism and the establishment of blocs with imperialism. It lent a qualitatively new dimension to the policy of the Chinese leaders with regard to the disarmament issue.

The ownership of nuclear weapons and the development of modern delivery systems is designed to multiply the effectiveness of the Chinese leaders' hegemonistic policy and increase China's influence in world politics. The basic strategic goal of the PRC leaders foreign policy and therefore their attitude to the issue of disarmament and arms limitation is that of making China a power which will, in the long run, dominate the world. They visualize a system of international relations in which China is the superpower. Their efforts to convert this into practical politics meant that nationalism was fueled with an increasing lack of inhibitions, that it degenerated into great power chauvinism and, by tremendous rearmament efforts, imposed unspeakable burdens on the Chinese people.

Whatever the shifts of PRC foreign policy since the end of the 1950's, it always maintained one leitmotif: To sabotage detente in East-West relations, obstruct effective steps in direction disarmament and arms limitation, incite and exploit conflicts and disputes at all foci of world policy--whether in Europe, the Near and Middle East, Africa, Central America and,

especially, in Southeast Asia and the Far East--all in order to drive the Soviet Union and the United States into a permanent political and, if at all possible, military confrontation.

The Chinese leaders therefore acted and continue to act as resolute foes of political and military detente. As it is the nationalist approach to make China the preeminent world power, it follows that the Soviet Union, the strongest power of socialism, is bound to appear the main obstacle to this ambition. Consequently the USSR has for years been slandered as the "arch enemy" of China and the peoples of the world, the "main source" of tensions and war; the peace and security policy of the Soviet Union has been fanatically maligned, the constructive proposals of the socialist fraternal countries on disarmament and arms limitation denigrated and imperialism courted.

For years Chinese politicians have diligently tried to make the world believe that China does not strive for global domination and actually advocates general and complete disarmament. Basically this corresponds to a tenet of the old Chinese "art of government," which advises that real political goals should never be revealed before the time is ripe. To deceive world public opinion Deng Xiaoping went so far as to say at the April 1974 special meeting of the United Nations General Assembly:

"Should China one of these days change its political visage and become a superpower, should it also act the tyrant and on this earth and everywhere subject others to its tyranny, aggression and exploitation, the peoples of this earth should call matters by their proper name..."

Let us take up Deng's challenge and seek truth in the facts!

The Striving for Military Power--The Basis of the Chinese Leaders Attitude to Disarmament

According to Soviet sources the average arms expenditure of the PRC amounts to some 40 percent of the total state budget. The costly missile-nuclear bomb potential continues to be the focal point of Chinese armament. China has available and ready for use nuclear fission and fusion weapons with an explosive range of 20 kiloton to 4 megaton TNT. Since 1964 the People's Republic of China has carried out more than 25 nuclear tests and since 1970 launched 8 satellites as well as undertaken successful test series with respect to guided missiles. It is possible that the Chinese are able to handle the complex recovery technology for satellite payloads.

On 18 and 21 May last China successfully launched toward the South Pacific the first two intercontinental ballistic missiles type CSS-X-4 with a range of about 10,000-14,000 km. According to reports these ICBM's are to be equipped with 3 independent guided nuclear warheads (MIRV's). China also has nearly 100 bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons. The construction of nuclear fueled submarines serves the purpose of advancing

Chinese naval equipment in the direction of strategic tasks. On the whole, however, the PRC's strategic capacities are by no means sufficient to carry out intercontinental missions. The PRC's ballistic missiles so far represent a danger mainly to the USSR, the Mongolian People's Republic, India, the Southeast Asian countries and Japan. Nevertheless we must assume that a new strategic situation will dawn in the early 1980's in Sino-United States relations: Chinese intercontinental ballistic missiles will then be able for the first time to reach the U.S. mainland.

At the moment about 4 million men are serving in the Chinese armed forces. The army has available some 10,000 tanks (light and heavy), about 3,000 armored personnel carriers, 5,500 heavy grenade launchers and 15,000 artillery pieces. The navy boasts some 200 floating units. They include 50 submarines and some obsolete destroyers. Also included are 4 naval air divisions. The air force has more than 5,000 obsolescent Soviet aircraft or Chinese copies. Some 60 million members of paramilitary formation represent the so-called nuclear militia.

In contrast to the Chinese leaders' public assertions China's armed aggression against socialist Vietnam in the spring of 1979 clearly showed that the army is being prepared for attack. The Chinese concluded from their military defeat in Vietnam that they must more strongly emphasize the equipment of their army with modern conventional weapons and modern communications, and that they must also substantially improve their mobility. For this they expect the assistance of imperialist countries, especially the United States. Last January's visit to China by U.S. Defense Secretary Brown and last May's return visit to the United States by General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission Geng Biao represented a definite "leap forward" with respect to the development of military links between China and the United States. It was agreed, for example, that China should obtain the most modern "gray zone" technology such as a land satellite station and equipment for military purposes such as early warning radar, telecommunication devices, trucks, transport aircraft and computers.

In view of the great importance assigned by the Chinese leaders to their own military strength for the implementation of their hegemonistic aims, the PRC's attitude to disarmament primarily features the firm intention not to allow any obstacles to the speeded-up development and expansion of the country's armed forces and arms arsenal. The Chinese attitude to disarmament is largely motivated as follows:

-- The leaders of the People's Republic of China intend to prevent any international agreements which they consider restrictive to their rearmament, especially in the field of nuclear missiles.

-- On the one hand they endeavor to avoid international isolation for the PRC in matters arms limitation, on the other they are interested in stimulating the most reactionary forces of imperialism to prevent effective steps toward disarmament and arms limitation.

-- By saddling the "superpowers" (meaning the USSR and the United States but mainly, and increasingly, the USSR alone) with the sole responsibility for the continuing arms race, the PRC attempts to isolate the USSR, deflect attention from its own rearmament and indeed justify it.

-- More and more the Chinese submit their own proposals and suggestions which call on the "superpowers," especially the USSR, to make unilateral sacrifices in the matter of disarmament. These obviously amount to a shift in the prevailing military proportion of forces worldwide to benefit the People's Republic of China. By the disarmament of the "rivals," the relative weight of the PRC's military factor is to be increased in the long term. The attempt is made to justify this with the efforts of peoples and countries to achieve "equality" and bolish the "supremacy of the superpowers."

-- The Chinese disarmament concept distinguishes between "genuine" and "false" disarmament.¹² All current arms limitation and disarmament treaties based on the internationally acknowledged principle of the equality of obligations and equal security are discounted as "false" measures. Only those steps are proclaimed "genuine" disarmament, which violate this principle and provide unilateral military benefits for the People's Republic of China.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China constantly refer to the "superpowers competition for world domination" and assert that the alleged Soviet expansionism may cause another world war. The Chinese leaders attempt by this demagogy to justify their demand for the implementation of the "principle of disarmament,"¹³ by which the USSR and the United States "would have to be the first" drastically to reduce their nuclear strategic arms. Only then should other "important military countries join in" disarmament.¹⁴ By putting the question in such unrealistic terms the PRC actually aims to prevent any advance toward disarmament, evade its own disarmament responsibilities as a nuclear power, and shift the entire responsibility onto others.

To disguise its basically negative attitude in regard to nuclear disarmament the PRC began in the early 1960's to advance the demand for a ban on a first nuclear strike. According to a government statement of 16 October 1964, on the occasion of the first Chinese nuclear tests, China would "at no time and in no circumstances" be the first to use nuclear weapons. Ever since the restoration of the PRC's legitimate rights in the United Nations (1971) it has challenged the United States and the USSR to make a similar declaration. Complementing the unilateral obligation accepted by the USSR and the United States in several statements, the USSR has additionally proposed that all nuclear powers should enter into binding international obligations to the effect that they would not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against countries which do not possess nuclear weapons nor have such weapons emplaced on their territories. The PRC, however, rejected this proposal.

The People's Republic of China's call for the non-use of nuclear weapons, especially against nuclear free zones, must therefore be considered no more than empty rhetoric, especially because it rejects any internationally binding agreement on a general nuclear weapons ban and, in contrast to the USSR, is not willing to enter into firm contractual agreements on the conditions for foregoing the first nuclear strike. In these circumstances the countries bordering on the People's Republic of China can never be secure from a potential Chinese nuclear attack.

So far the PRC has not acceded to any of the major international treaties and agreements on arms limitation and disarmament, though accession to many is open. Other than membership in the 1925 Geneva Protocol, inherited from its predecessor government, the People's Republic of China has been willing only to accept the supplementary protocol No 2 to the treaty on the ban of nuclear weapons in Latin America. By doing so it obligated itself not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the signatories of that treaty. This, though, does not imply any restriction to Chinese nuclear armament. The PRC has not signed any of the current and important international agreements in the field of arms limitation and disarmament, which would involve genuine restrictions on the rearmament of the People's Republic of China. Not the Moscow Treaty concerning the ban on nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in space and underseas (1963), not the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons (1968), not the treaty on the bottom of the seas (1971), not the S weapons convention (1972), nor yet the environmental convention (1977).

The People's Republic of China and the Ban on Nuclear Weapons Tests

By their efforts to obtain the international acceptance of a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests and a ban of such tests in all media and for all countries, the socialist countries aim to make impossible or at least difficult the further development of existing types and the creation of new generations of such weapons by precluding any tests. At the same time they intend to prevent the further uncontrolled proliferation of nuclear weapons in countries which do not yet have them. The first and so far most important if partial success recorded is represented by the Moscow Treaty, concluded on 5 August 1963 and relating to a partial ban on nuclear weapons tests. The Beijing leaders fought this treaty tooth and nail, even in the preparatory stage. As they assign a central role in their hegemonistic ambitions to their own possession and rapid development of nuclear weapons, they roundly objected to any international agreement which could represent an obstacle. Nor is the PRC willing so far to stop nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere and restrict itself to underground tests only. China's continuing violation of the treaty provisions (to which no less than 120 countries have now acceded) is designed to prove that the treaty is incapable of preventing nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere. By this means the effectiveness of the treaty is to be brought into disrepute and its universality gainsayed. The People's Republic of China sharply rejected the complaints about its atmospheric tests, which were expressed by

other countries, in particular Japan, Australia and New Zealand. The PRC tried to give the impression that the tests were an internal concern of China alone, in other words China's sovereign right, and that there was no way of preventing China from proceeding as it wished. Moreover the PRC construes an allegedly valid right of all countries, but especially of countries "with few nuclear weapons and those with insufficient defense capacity," not only to develop nuclear weapons but also to produce and test them. It advises such countries against participation in the Moscow Treaty because this allegedly prejudices their security.

By taking the field against even a partial ban on nuclear weapons the Chinese leaders aim to obstruct the process designed to result in a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests. The generally destructive attitude of the PRC is nowhere so pronounced as on this issue. Ever since it has been a member of the United Nations, it has voted against all relevant resolutions by the UN General Assembly.¹⁶ The PRC rejects the USSR's proposal for a conference of the five nuclear powers to discuss issues involved in a total test ban. Since 1977 at least trilateral negotiations on that issue have been carried on by the USSR, the United States and Britain. The PRC's negative attitude has so far served the United States and Britain as a pretext for refusing to submit a draft treaty jointly with the USSR. The lack of progress has made it easier for the PRC to explain and maintain its rejection of the nuclear weapons test ban and continue its nonparticipation in the relevant agreements and negotiations.

The People's Republic of China and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

This treaty obligated the nuclear powers "not to deliver nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices " to anybody at all, "either directly or indirectly, nor to aid, encourage or cause a country not possessing nuclear weapons to produce, or otherwise obtain nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices."¹⁷ The non-nuclear countries which were signatories consequently renounced the acquisition of nuclear weapons and incurred guarantee obligations within the scope of agreements with the International Atomic Energy Organization (IAEA) in Vienna. The treaty secures the "inalienable right of all treaty partners" to freely pursue the possibilities of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.¹⁸ Since the treaty took effect on 5 March 1970 the circle of nuclear powers has in fact not grown, thereby confirming its general efficacy.

The PRC opposed the treaty from the outset, did not accede to it and, to this day, rejects its universality. The PRC's rejection of the Nonproliferation Treaty results less from immediate military considerations (because China was already a nuclear power at the time the treaty was concluded). It is motivated by the PRC's view of the treaty as an important element in the trend to arms limitation, which it rejects because it cannot be made to serve its goal: That is unilaterally to restrict the great powers armaments while allowing the PRC a free hand in speeding up its own.

The People's Republic of China considers the Nonproliferation Treaty the result of a certain coincidence of interests between the USSR and the United States in the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons and describes it as "discovered" jointly by the United States and the Soviet Union for the express purpose of perpetuating their "nuclear monopoly" and dominating other countries. Actually the Chinese leaders hegemonistic concept is based on driving the United States and China toward a conflict. Anti-Sovietism and the endeavor to achieve domination are thus the political mainsprings of Chinese rejection of the Nonproliferation Treaty. By its rejection of the treaty the PRC hopes to gain allies among the countries not possessing a nuclear potential, stressing the alleged disparity in the obligations of the nuclear powers on the one hand and those of the non-nuclear nations on the other. The same purpose is served by the PRC's argument that the Nonproliferation Treaty obstructs the development of nuclear technology and its peaceful use by many countries, thereby perpetuating the "superpowers" monopoly in this field.

By rejecting the Nonproliferation Treaty and other measures designed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons the PRC represents one of the main obstacles to nuclear disarmament at this time. Whether and in how far the PRC will modify its attitude in the future cannot be foreseen, but some change may be expected because, in the pursuit of their hegemonistic goals, the Chinese leaders cannot objectively welcome the possibility of China's neighbors obtaining nuclear weapons.

The People's Republic of China and Nuclear Free Zones

The USSR and the other socialist countries have made long and strong efforts to promote the concept of the establishment of nuclear free zones. It has been part and parcel of their wish for military detente, arms limitation and disarmament. Let us in this connection recall the plan for setting up such a zone in Central Europe, submitted on 1 October 1957 by then Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki in an address to the UN General Assembly. Since that time several such projects have been launched. They include plans for the establishment of nuclear free zones in Europe, Latin America, Africa, the Near East, South Asia, the South Pacific, the Balkans, and the concept of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean. The establishment of nuclear free zones is the only issue in the current international discussion of disarmament not rejected outright by the PRC. The PRC adopted a positive attitude at votes on relevant resolutions in the UN General Assembly.²⁰ It backed the setting up of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, the establishment of nuclear free zones in Latin America, Africa, the Near East and South Asia. On 12 June 1974 the PRC acceded to supplementary protocol No 2 to the treaty on the nuclear free zone in Latin America. What is the background to that attitude?

The PRC considers the establishment of nuclear free zones and peace zones an alternative, not a supplement to the existing multilateral nuclear test

ban and nonproliferation treaties. As many countries approve the plans for nuclear free zones, the PRC hopes that they will back its rejection of the Moscow Treaty and the Nonproliferation Treaty. Even if all the nuclear free zones now under discussion were actually to be set up, this would not involve any restriction on China's nuclear armament and nuclear weapons tests, or at least would not represent an obstacle. The PRC leaders consider this issue to offer greater scope to their interpretation of the PRC's "positive basic attitude" to the disarmament issue and for demonstrating China's "support" of the interests of "small and medium" countries and non-nuclear countries. The PRC calls on the nuclear powers to forego the use and the threat to use nuclear weapons in these zones. By these means it endeavors to link up with the special security interests of these countries with regard to a nuclear threat and thus recruit them for itself. So far, however, the PRC has failed by its use of this issue to obtain firm alliances with a majority of countries.

The People's Republic of China and SALT

The Chinese leaders have always denigrated the beneficial effects of the SALT agreements on Soviet-American relations and described them as "useless" for nuclear disarmament. In their opinion, though SALT I and SALT II involved certain quantitative limitations on some types of nuclear weapons and delivery systems on the USSR and the United States, the treaties generally served only to maintain and perpetuate the "nuclear monopoly of the superpowers" for "blackmailing" the non-nuclear countries. Moreover, in concluding the SALT agreements the USSR and the USA merely pursued the design of redefining the "rules for their speeded-up strategic arms race" and therefore failed to meet their obligation to "genuine" disarmament, that is immediate drastic reductions.²¹ The USSR-United States treaty, unlimited in terms of time, about restrictions on antiballistic missile systems and the supplementary protocol by which both countries renounced the construction of expensive systems (which would have served also to defend them against Chinese strategic weapons) does not appear to PRC propaganda a suitable object of their criticism of SALT. The Chinese leaders therefore largely aim at the denigration of USSR-United States agreements on the limitation of their offensive strategic weapons.

The motives of this defamation of the SALT negotiations by the PRC are as follows: The "superpowers," in particular the USSR, are to be depicted as the main obstacle to the first "genuine" steps to nuclear disarmament. The USSR is accused by means of "qualitative rearmament" to strive for an alleged military superiority.²² The indication that "genuine" contributions to nuclear disarmament by SALT are so far lacking is meant to help prevent the extension of the bilateral framework of negotiations to all nuclear countries and especially to stifle at the source any potential pressure on the PRC to participate in nuclear disarmament.

Bound to be disappointed is the PRC leaders hope for a shift in the international balance of power in its favor as a consequence of the Soviet-

American agreements. Even the utmost rearmament efforts of the PRC could not possibly achieve the aim of some day matching USSR and United States nuclear potential. That is why their negative attitude to SALT will not change. It well reflects Beijing's endeavor--borrowed from the old "art of diplomacy"--to encourage other countries to wear each other out in order then to be able to dominate them. In this spirit the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress (1979) called on the most reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism to "combat"--on the occasion of the signature of SALT II--the realism of bourgeois politicians in their relations with the USSR by dubbing it "appeasement."²³

The PRC and the International Disarmament Mechanism

Lately the PRC has been compelled to modify its former objections to various bodies involved in international disarmament negotiations. Its cooperation in such bodies, especially the UN system, has in fact been characterized by growing activism and the extension of its involvement. To cite an example: For the first time a Chinese delegation attended the spring session of the Geneva Disarmament Commission, now expanded to 40 countries. Its performance there served to actually obstruct the operations of this body. The PRC's attendance at various disarmament negotiations is distinguished by its aggressive efforts to compel the international community to adopt the Chinese concept of disarmament. A prime example was the PRC's involvement in the disarmament committee of the UN General Assembly and the submission of its draft²⁴ of a comprehensive disarmament program to the committee on 15 May 1979.

The PRC was compelled to employ various stratagems regarding the issue of the world disarmament conference proposed by the USSR as early as 1971. Disregarding its own 1964 proposal for the convocation of a summit conference of heads of state and government from all countries, the PRC persisted in rejecting the 1971 Soviet initiative. China believes to be able for some time to come to avoid its likely isolation on this issue by backing special UN General Assembly sessions on disarmament. To begin with it had rejected the convocation of the special disarmament session and failed to participate in the work of the preparatory commission. Later, when such a session could no longer be prevented, the PRC was mainly interested in not allowing it to become a stage in the preparation of a world disarmament conference.

The PRC quite suddenly sent a delegation to the UN special session on disarmament, held in May/June 1978, ²⁵ and even decided to submit its own proposals for the concluding document. However, for technical reasons these were not dealt with. Finally the PRC joined the consensus on the concluding document. The relevant statements by the PRC emphasize that the session had allegedly taken place exclusively on the urging of "small and medium countries," that this had had a beneficial effect on the "spirit" of the resolutions regarding the concluding document, and that it was imperative further to advance in this direction.²⁶

New Tactical Maneuvers To Make Old Strategic Goals Prevail

In recent years, in the course of the further emergence of the Chinese leaders hegemonistic policies, we were bound to note a generally deepening evolution of independent Chinese interests in the field of disarmament. This process is characterized by the fact that, as a consequence of the changed conditions of the international class conflict noticeable since the mid-1970's, the PRC leadership has experienced a growing need to adjust to new facts in the international disarmament discussion.

That is why the PRC leaders have occasionally somewhat trimmed their doctrine of the "inevitability" of war, which was not even acceptable to the imperialist countries. However, basically all they have done is to provide a slightly more "palatable" formula, linking it to the assertion that China needs an "environment of lasting peace" for its own "modernization." In the course of his trip to Europe in 1979 Hua Guofeng, Central Committee chairman and premier, State Council, even claimed that China would not permit a new world war to erupt. At the end of 1979 China approved a draft resolution, submitted by Cuba, Yugoslavia and developing countries, regarding the inadmissibility of the pursuit of hegemony in international relations. This incorporated crucial conceptions of the relevant Soviet proposal. The PRC did so in order to avoid isolation and the revelation of its hypocritical opposition to hegemonistic aspirations. We mentioned earlier the PRC's attendance at the UN special session on disarmament (1978), the submission of a Chinese disarmament proposal at the eleventh conference of the UN disarmament commission on 15 May 1979 and its attendance at the Geneva disarmament commission in 1980. The PRC voted for the resolutions on denuclearizing Africa and the Near East (resolutions 34/76A and 34/77), the establishment of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean (resolution 34/80, among others), and against Israel's access to nuclear weapons (resolution 34/89).

No doubt all progressive forces would be only too glad if the PRC were to join the socialist countries to make common cause against the imperialists striving for domination and their insane rearmament plans, if it were to contribute to detente and the security of peace and, most of all champion genuine arms limitation and disarmament--if only in the interest of elevating the standard of living of the Chinese people.

Unfortunately the facts point in exactly the opposite direction. According to Chinese Defense Minister Xu Xiangquian, writing in the October 1979 issue of the theoretical party journal HONQU, China must be "combat ready at every moment. Xu continues: "We must assume that a war will break out. That is why we must prepare for that war which will soon begin, assume large dimensions and even become a nuclear war." That is why Xu thinks that the "modernization of national defense," China's conventional and nuclear rearmament, represents a task of "great strategic importance." This dangerous conception determines the foreign political strategy of the Chinese leaders and, therefore, the bases of their conception regarding the

issues of disarmament and arms limitation. By establishing a worldwide anti-Soviet "united front" and in the course of the changes in the current system of international relations socialism is to be "contained" globally and the socialist initiatives on detente and arms limitation frustrated. The Chinese leaders consequently describe U.S. imperialism as the "victim" of Soviet hegemonistic ambitions in order on this basis to cooperate with it in policy and defense matters and, together with imperialism, confront Soviet peace and detente policies. As is its wont, the PRC proceeds in three main directions: First it adapts to the new general organizational-practical conditions of its performance in the disarmament debates. Second it stresses the alleged failure of the struggle for disarmament in the past and, third, more and more aggressively champions its own alternatives. Here it not only seeks to recruit individual countries for its unprincipled attitudes and conceptions; it also strives by parallel and coordinated actions with the representatives of imperialist countries--primarily the United States--to thwart any constructive approach to the discussion of the relevant issues.

No doubt the plans and designs of the Chinese leaders---to change the international disarmament discussion into an instrument to advance its hegemonistic goals--are doomed to failure. Nevertheless we must remember that their destructive attitude to this key issue of international politics has become an obstacle which threatens further progress in disarmament and arms limitation. It strengthens the most reactionary circles of imperialism, who for their part seek to prevent any step toward arms reduction and disarmament. It is therefore imperative constantly to unmask and resolutely reject the disarmament demagogy of the PRC leaders. Nobody may dispense the PRC from its responsibilities, especially for nuclear disarmament.

FOOTNOTES

1. "12. Tagung des ZK der SED. Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an das Zentralkomitee der SED" / Twelfth SED Central Committee Plenum. From the Politburo Report to the SED Central Committee/ Berlin 1980, p 23.
2. Ibid, p 12.
3. See B. Kaufmann, "Beijing's Hegemonistic Great Power Politics," EINHEIT, Berlin 1980, No 2, pp 200 ff.
4. "Aussenpolitik und Internationale Beziehungen der Volksrepublik China" / Foreign Policy and International Relations of the People's Republic of China/, Berlin 1976, p 28.
5. See U. Vesa, "The Development of Chinese Thinking on Disarmament," in "Instant Research on Peace and Violence," 1974, No 2, p 59.

6. See "A Proposal on the General Line of the International Communist Movement," (14 June 1963), Beijing 1963, p 33.
7. See conversation at the reception for Sasaki Kozo, Kuroda Hisao, Hoosako Kanemitsu and other members of the Socialist Party of Japan (10 July 1964), in H. Martin, "Mao Intern, Unveroeffentliche Schriften, Reden und Gespraechе Mao Tse-Tungs 1949-1971" /Mao At Home, Unpublished Writings, Speeches and Conversations of Mao Zedong, 1949-1971/, Munich 1974, pp 40 ff.
8. See O.R. Young, "China and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," in M.H. Halperin, "Sino-Soviet Relations and Arms Control," Cambridge/Massachusetts-London 1967, pp 32 ff.
9. RENMIN RIBAO, Beijing, 11 April 1974.
10. See I. Alekseev/G. Apalin, "Beijing: Balancing on the Brink of a Dangerous Abyss," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 27/28 August 1977.
11. See M. Nass, "The Nuclear Potential of the People's Republic of China," INTERNATIONALES ASIENFORUM, Munich 1979, Nos 1-2, pp 103 ff.
12. See UN Document A/C 1/32/PV. 47, 30 November 1977, p 13.
13. See UN Document A/S-10/PV, 27 June 1978, pp 1083 ff.
14. See speech by Chinese representative Chen Chu at the conclusion of the special session on 30 June 1978, in ibid, p 111.
15. See PEKING REVIEW 1977, No 50, p 26.
16. See "The United Nations and Disarmament 1970-1975," New York 1976, pp 57 ff, and "World Armaments and Disarmaments," SIPRI-Yearbook 1978, p 319.
17. "Dokumente zur Abruestung 1917-1976" /Documents on Disarmament 1917-1976/, Berlin 1978, p 339.
18. Ibid, pp 320 f.
19. See "People of the World, Unite and Struggle for the Complete Prohibition and Thorough Destruction of Nuclear Weapons!," Beijing 1971, pp 14 f.
20. See "The United Nations and Disarmament...", as before, pp 364 ff.
21. See speech by Huang Hua, chairman of the PRC delegation, at the Tenth Special Session of the UN General Assembly, 29 May 1978, "PRC Mission to the UN Press Release, p 11.

22. See BEIJING REVIEW 1979, No 22, p 21.
23. See Hua Guofeng, "Report on the Actions of the Government," BEIJING REVIEW 1979, No 27, p 32.
24. See RENMIN RIBAO, Beijing, 17 May 1979.
25. See UN Documents A/S-10/AC.1/L.2, A/S-10/AC.1/L.3, A/S-10/AC.1/L.4, A/S-10/AC.1/L.7 and A/S-10/AC.1/L.8.
26. See speech by Lai Yali, head of the PRC delegation, to the disarmament commission of the UN General Assembly on 9 June 1979, in A/CN.10/PV.21, 9 June 1979, pp 24 f.

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TRADE UNIONS PREPARE FOR XXIV CONGRESS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, Oct 80 pp 11-17

[Article by Gyorgy Fejt1, deputy department head of the KB (Central Committee);
"The Trade Union Movement Is Preparing For a Congress"]

[Text] Barely 2 months before the 24th congress of the Hungarian trade union movement the work of political analysis is being carried on with great responsibility at the branch and industrial branch conventions as well as in the leadership bodies and working committees of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT]. This work summarizes the conclusions of the movement's work in the last 5 years based on the opinions and suggestions of hundreds of thousands of the trade union members, shop stewards and delegates, and determines the future tasks. The job of those who participate in this work is no less than based on objective and self-critical situation analysis, designating that road--which does not exactly promise to be an easy one--which the trade union movement will have to travel in order to fulfill its calling even under today's more complicated socioeconomic circumstances. This is the only way the movement can live up to the expectations of its membership and at the same time also to the requirements defined in the 12th party congress's resolution, according to which: "Our party continues to count on the independent, initiative and responsible work of the trade unions in solving the tasks before us. It expects them, with their political influence and with the tools of their movement, to also help in the future to build socialism, and help satisfy the materials, social and cultural needs of the workers."

Past events in the trade union elections have been characterized by a good political atmosphere, much interest and activity by the organized workers and their delegates. The reports, and mainly the debates, which often passionately discussed the movement's future tasks, have provided a number of interesting lessons, thorough evaluation of which is the job of the trade union congress. But analysis of the experience is also the duty of the party organizations everywhere since the trade union movement is the link between the party and the working class. With their cooperation the party not only leads, organizes and educates the workers but also learns from them. In this sense the trade union elections also provide a good opportunity for the party organizations to evaluate and familiarize themselves with the opinion of the workers about the party's policies, to make use of their observations and suggestions to determine what is to be done.

The main lesson learned from the dialogue conducted with the trade union membership is that the workers agree with the party's policies, with the resolutions of the 12th congress; they identify themselves with our goals and are ready to carry out organized,

better disciplined work than before. Nationally as well as locally, the trade union membership today is occupied with the question of how, at what rate and in which order can we implement the resolutions of the party's congress.

Many questions come up today--some theoretical and some practical in nature, some with general and some with local effect. To find the correct answers there is a need for creative debates, for the leadership and subordinates to think together, and for independent initiatives by the mass organizations and mass movements. We must also expect that exactly because of the complicated nature of the tasks we will not have ready answers for all questions and situations--just as we did not have in the past either. We have to distinguish between ideas proven by practice, questions which are ripe for decision and ones which still require study and analysis. We must pay attention to the future as well as to the tasks immediately before us. But we must direct our main attention to determining the central points of specific action, to making the necessary decisions and to consistently carry these out.

Solving the new tasks before us, defending the results we have already achieved, solidifying these, laying down the foundations for future growth, demand active, creative behavior, courageous thinking, quick and flexible decisions, accepting reasonable risks which accompany the taking of initiatives, more organized and better disciplined work. Together with the party organizations, the trade union movement can do much that the workers not only should recognize and accept these demands created by the times, but also implement them in their work and require that others, such as [for example] their leadership, be responsible for them also.

The events of trade union elections thus far reflect that--in harmony with the demands specified by the party--the organized workers also expect the role of the trade union movement to increase in solving the tasks and problems before us. They want the trade unions to, on the one hand to implement more widely and more on the merits that the workers be involved in economic and social planning and to carry out the tasks of production and economic operation, and on the other hand to assure more consistently that their interests will be represented and defended, to serve a better coordinated harmony between individual, group and social interests. Thus in the present stage of the trade union movement's growth the main question more and more is: how, at what rate and in what forms can it interest and activate the workers in opening up the reserves in our society's strength?

Good conditions are created for performing the trade union's tasks related to more successfully organizing the production and economic operations, on one hand by the fact that the interest of the workers in economic issues has significantly increased, and on the other hand their knowledge about the situation of the country's and of their more immediate surrounding's economic operation has greatly increased. The open, sincere evaluation based on facts, with which the party analyzed our national economy's situation and revealed our difficulties and problems, is met by broad approval of the workers. Also verbalized at the trade union forums was that the workers understand and accept the program worked out to improve our equilibrium situation and our efforts aimed at solidifying the standard of living we have achieved. But many people have also mentioned that they would also like to achieve further improvement of their living standards and financial situation by means of improving the quality and efficiency of their work. To this end they expect specific and quick definition of the local tasks, and that the necessary programs will be worked out. This willingness to act, which in many places also manifests itself in proposals

and initiatives, is a very important precondition for our continued progress. The party organizations should build on this readiness to act. Cooperating with the trade unions, they should demand and support that the economic management at each place of work should define the requirements for improving efficiency and quality in a way which can be understood by the individual workers. They should not tolerate the workers being placed into a financially disadvantageous situation because of lack of the necessary professional knowledge or enterprising disposition, lack of planning, disorganization or other reason which can be eliminated. They should urge creative debates at the place of work and supervise the implementation of reasonable suggestions and opinions.

Better development of the workers' creative ability and activity is conditioned on further developing the trade union activity which aids in the economic operation and production. In the interest of this, efforts must be made to bring the goals, incentives and methods of evaluation of the work formats now employed--primarily the socialist labor movements, work competition, the brigade movement and the innovation movement--into better harmony with the present efforts of our economic policy. In addition to the results of these work movements which can be demonstrated in numbers--for example just the value of innovations and inventions alone which can be expressed in terms of money, exceeds 32 billion forints in the Fifth Five-Year Plan--they significantly contribute to achieving our economic goals, to strengthening the socialist consciousness and behavior, to raising the levels of public mindedness and the workers' knowledge. For this reason also it is important to preserve and further develop the original values of these movements, to increase the role of worker collectives in organizing and evaluating the pledges.

The economic tasks make it mandate us to better manage manpower, our most important resource, in every area of life. Full employment is a great achievement of our system which we will not give up in the future either. However, we must become more conscious of the fact that on the one hand the right to work is accompanied by the obligation of decent, well disciplined performance of that work, and on the other hand it is not the same as the right to work at one specific place of work. Reshaping the production structure, cutting back uneconomical production, better work organization--if the rate of implementing it speeds up--may cause surplus manpower at one place and manpower shortage at another. Today this process has not yet developed to the necessary extent due primarily to the lack of a wage management system which provides incentives to the enterprises and employees alike. Manpower regrouping to areas where it would produce more value for the society is slower than would be desirable. Because of this, the party as well as the trade union organizations will have to pay more attention in the future to opening up the manpower reserves and insuring more efficient employment by means of planned regrouping--within the enterprise if possible, and if not, then between enterprises. The trade union movement also has an important role in participating in the political preparation of manpower regroupings which become necessary, in organized implementation of the retraining and advanced training of the workers, and in supervising the humane implementation of what needs to be done.

Amid the more difficult economic circumstances, the requirement is emphasized even more that the trade unions consistently represent and defend the workers' rights provided by our laws even more, the already achieved results of standard-of-living policies, and--in harmony with our economic opportunities and achievements--take a stand with an even greater sense of responsibility in every issue related to improving the living standards and working conditions of the workers.

In order to successfully perform this task it is necessary for the trade union movement to have reliable information about the living and working conditions of society's various strata and groups, their social situation, unique interests and aspirations. The party organizations should provide the conditions for the trade unions to learn the facts necessary to make these analyses, and at the same time they should require them to work out proposals for shaping the standard-of-living policy and social policy, having learned and expressing [sic] the realistic ambitions of the workers. The trade union movement must pay particular attention to assuring that the place the working class occupies in society, especially the workers of major enterprises, develops according to their position and performance in production.

Among the trade union movement's multifaceted, complex tasks of protecting and representing [certain] interests, particular attention must be paid to the development of wages, the housing situation and the system of public assistance benefits.

The foundation for developing a wage policy and wage system more perspicuous than what we have today and one which would better serve our economic policy goals can only be the more consistent implementation of the principle of distribution according to the work done; that is, in the future the wages and earnings should be shaped more proportionately with performance, with the degree of the work's quality and difficulty. Even though an overwhelming majority of the workers agreed with and accepted the principle of distribution according to the work done, its practical implementation does not promise to be an easy thing to do at all--precisely because of its consequence, the differentiation of wages. We have to also accept that there will be arguments and conflicts, and we must break with the practice of "playing a game of]"egalitarianism" which today is still played in many places and which is interpreted incorrectly. The trade union movement can do much to help the workers understand and accept the principle and mainly the practice of paying wages according to performance. Besides wages, more attention must be given also to social control over prices and quality. Every worker is a producer and also a consumer in the same person. Therefore by doing good quality work in his own plant, by meeting the delivery deadlines or by providing good quality services, in the final analysis also on he contributes to good quality a social scale, to a balanced supply of goods, and to developing a good general consumer atmosphere. Furthermore, the trade unions, first of all in their own plants, should participate in organizing social price and quality control and should take a stand against unjustified price increases.

In spite of the very significant efforts by our society, improvement of the housing situation is one of today's most urgent problems awaiting solution. In accordance with the trade union membership's needs the movement will in the future have to accept a larger role to improve the conditions of housing construction and housing distribution, and also distribute housing funds by consistent implementation of the social viewpoints and its social control. It should also collaborate to make the burdens on the state and on the population more proportionate in bearing the expenses of housing construction and maintenance, in helping the number of reasonable apartment trades increase, and also improve the conditions for workers, families with more [than one] children and young married couples to obtain housing.

Since the material goods available to us for distribution are limited, it is necessary to pay more attention than before to rating the needs according to importance. Therefore in the future the trade union movement will have a larger job in helping to see to it that the central and local means available for social aid are used in better harmony with our social policy goals and in better conformance with realistic needs.

In the interest of this more initiatives by the trade unions will be needed to determine which types of aid will need to be further developed within the limits of what is possible, which homes can be maintained at the present level, and where we will be forced to decrease, for example, either the number of those receiving aid, or the extent of such aid.

Our goal is to continue our progress along the road on which we have set out in the interest of developing socialist democracy and the democracy of the place of work, which today is a particularly important component element of this. In recent years we have adequately developed the direct and representative forums of work place democracy, significantly expanding their spheres of authority. But we still cannot be satisfied. We will have to do much more to help these forums be more suitable for their functions: to more consistently insure the workers' participation in exercising power, in developing the decisions, in determining the tasks related to production and distribution, to improving the living standards and working conditions of the workers. We must make available more space for the various interests to appear, clash and become coordinated; for the individual and collective initiatives. Today, satisfying these needs, further developing the work place democracy, requires primarily not an expansion of spheres of authority nor the creation of new forums, but rather that we use the existing opportunities, free of formalisms and duplications, that is, better than before.

Among the complex tasks of better implementing the work place democracy it is necessary to emphasize those tasks which are in connection with identifying and coordinating the [various] interests. Besides the basic interests being the same, the multicolored nature of individual and group interests--as is well known--is a natural feature of our socialist society. The interests appear strongest as individual and group interests, and directions of action, decisions acceptable to all interested parties, can be worked out only with the knowledge of these. In spite of this being public knowledge, today the need for identifying the differences of interest and conflicts has not yet sufficiently sunk into the public consciousness; therefore, the different interests often appear in false forms of expression. On the one hand we see occasions when group, or at times even individual interests seek to prevail clothed as society's interests. But the reverse of this also occurs at times, when justified individual or group interests are refused implementation by referring to some mystified social interests. It is not an easy job to find our way in the complicated and changing system of interests. However, in order for us to be able to politically influence the conflicts of interests, and be able to more consciously use it as one of the driving forces of our growth, we will have to be more receptive towards interests. This requires that the party organizations also give more consideration to the interest identifying and coordinating function of the trade unions.

The working relationship of trade union and state organs plays an important role in the further development of work place democracy. In our country the cooperation of trade union and state organs is built on the principle of the interests of the working masses and of the people's state being one and the same. The working forms of cooperation--also spelled out in high level statutes--were developed in recent decades and are functioning well. Thus the opportunities do exist for the trade union movement to make its voice heard and make its positions prevail on all important questions, from planning through distribution, all the way to evaluation and control. But the situation is not free of contradictions and arguments in this respect either.

As the spheres of authority and independence of enterprise management and of the trade union organs are simultaneously increasing, it is possible (theoretically) as well as in practice for arguments and disagreements to develop between the economic and trade union organs. The party organizations have a very great responsibility to view these arguments not as necessary evil, but as a natural part of life, and also to see to it that the coordination of matters be done at the right time and with good preparation and that the necessary decisions be arrived at on time. That is, the one-man managing authority and responsibility of economic managers, and the increasing participation of workers' collectives in the handling of matters, must be asserted simultaneously and in harmony.

The trade union movement can successfully carry out its existing and growing tasks in identifying the reserves in society's strength, in developing the activities of workers in production and in public life only by rendering its relationship with its membership more active and closer, with the millions of workers. For this it is necessary that the movement be able to realistically recognize the social processes, to continuously renew and modernize its organizational system, working style and working methods. Only this way can it put its strength even better than in the past, to serve the cause of the working class, the workers. This is how it can be achieved that the membership feel individually and also objectively that the trade union movement is theirs, their particular goals, ambitions and interests are implemented in its programs, and through its movement it has direct and indirect say in working out the production goals, shaping the living and working conditions, overseeing the implementation of decisions.

During the course of elections held before the changes in the structure of the trade union organs in the plants and institutions was significantly rationalized by generally accepting the shop steward and chief shop steward system, and developing the shop steward staff. Of course modification of the trade union organ structure does not by itself solve any kind of social or economic problems. At the same time, by combining [the functions of] management, decisionmaking, information and control, and by eliminating the unnecessary duplications, a better opportunity has been opened up to create unity in the work place and trade union democracy, and to prevail more effectively.

In the new organizational and management system the trade union stewards will have the main role because the continuous centers established with the membership will take shape through their persons and by their activities. Their roles in making decisions will increase as well as in organizing and controlling their implementation. The increased role of shop stewards and the significant expansion of their spheres of authority was justified first of all by their unique position, in addition to the valuable traditions of the Hungarian trade union movement which are worthy of being preserved. They are the ones who can best learn, and thus also represent the needs, interests and aspirations of the trade union members in direct daily contact with the group's members, during the course of cooperative work. They can best evaluate the possibilities of implementing individual decisions and the expected reaction of these, and at the same time. Since in addition to being part of the decisionmaking they are also participants in organizing the implementation, they can evaluate the decision's consequences, and thus they can make suggestions for corrections which may become necessary. Naturally the shop steward can represent his group's interests well only if they become defined within the group. And this is preconditioned on a good effective functioning of relationship the trade union group with the members and the shop steward and on the group's internal readiness and unity to cooperate. If this is missing then the danger may occur that the steward represents

only his own opinion and not that of the workers. That is, the decisive condition for expanding trade union democracy [sic], for the successful operation of the shop steward bodies is the actual operation of the trade union groups and their continuous control over the shop steward's work.

In order for the shop stewards to be able to handle their increased tasks it is necessary that they receive more help and support from the party organizations for their difficult work which often also involves conflicts. They should be encouraged and defended if, in the interest of the workers, they make well founded demands on the economic management. But they [the party organizations] should also require that [the shop stewards] take a position backed by convincing reason against unfounded demands which exceed our economic potential.

The shop steward bodies combine the functions of the plant democracy's highest forums at the enterprise with the functions of the trade union's highest organ at the place of work. The sphere of their authority is extremely broad: in addition to directing and controlling the basic organization's work they also make decisions about negotiating the collective [labor] contract, accepting the annual report which analyzes its implementation, about the necessary changes, approving the enterprise's social policy and safety program plan, as well as about the use of the enterprise's social, cultural, sport, aid and vacation funds. They take a stand on the main principles and size of the annual wage increases, distribution of the profit sharing, welfare and cultural funds and on accepting the annual report which deals with the implementation of the enterprise's social plan. They render opinions on the enterprise's medium-range and annual plans and, in connection with this, about the yearly activities of the enterprise's economic managers. In addition to these, the body of shop stewards may place any issue on its agenda it considers important from the viewpoint of the workers.

The conditions are constantly improving for implementing these very broad rights. The definite requirement spelled out by the party, the workers' increasing interest and activity in politics and in public life, the large number of suggestions heard at the trade union elections which are worthy of implementation, the favorable development in the composition of trade union bodies are all circumstances which indicate that the conditions do exist for the efficient operation of these bodies.

Whether these bodies will fulfill the hopes attached to them depends not only on them. The local party organizations [also] have a very large role and responsibility in this: their job is to follow with attention the main trends of the sociopolitical processes taking place at the enterprises, and--building on the distribution of work between the trade unions and other social organs on the one hand, and economic management on the other, by analyzing their suggestions and debates--recognize the contradictions which occur, allow them to develop and resolve them.

The Hungarian trade union movement can prepare for its congress with self-confidence. The workers' confidence, the sincerely conducted successful work, and also the movement's valuable traditions on the basis of which the trade union today is a recognized factor here in this country as well as in the international movement, provide a good foundation for this. In the future the party will want to rely even more on the trade unions, and requires that with great responsibility, by taking maximum advantage of the broad spectrum of rights it enjoys, the movement more courageously and with more initiative should participate in forming the national and local political and economic decisions, in organizing and controlling the implementation of these. That is, the

conditions are good for the independence, strength, social weight and prestige of the trade unions to further increase, and for the trade union movement to participate even more successfully in shaping the policies as well as in carrying them out as an indispensable element of our political system.

In the future in accord with our well proven practice, the party organizations should also guide the work of the trade unions with theoretical and political tools by means of the party members who work in the movement. It is therefore necessary for them to familiarize themselves with the decisions of the trade union congresses, and to assign the communists working in the trade unions to help in the consistent implementation of these, by work based on convincing and demonstrative personal examples. They should perform their tasks with the knowledge that for our party it is indispensably important to win the workers in the trade unions, to achieve their understanding of its policies, accepting them and carrying them out in practice.

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NEMETH ADDRESSES GRADUATES OF POLITICAL COLLEGE

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[Article: "Our Politics Is Built On Mutual Confidence Between the Party and the Working Masses"--speech by Karoly Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP's Politburo, chairman of the Party Construction Working Collective, at the Political College's diploma awarding ceremony (abbreviated speech).]

[Text] With all my heart I congratulate the comrades who are now receiving their diplomas. This act expresses that you have earned our confidence. At the same time it also represents an acknowledgement of the successful work you and the teaching staff have conducted so diligently, and with all certainty it also represents an important station along the life's path of the comrades affected. I wish to express our hope that in your practical work you will make good use of the theoretical and political knowledge you have acquired in the Political College; that you will honorably fulfill your obligations; that you will work in the communist way; that you will invest the knowledge you gained here by becoming active practitioners and propagators of our scientific ideology. With all my heart I wish all of you all success in this.

We also ask the school's present students, and the comrades now beginning their studies to fulfill conscientiously their present main party assignment: by taking advantage of the opportunities, to learn as well as possible the science of Marxism-Leninism. You should be demanding of yourselves, strengthen community spirit and help each other study! You should follow with attention the development of our social and political circumstances, and not become isolated from the reality of our society. My wish for you is that you succeed in carrying out your task. I will add to this our hope and encouragement that the college's faculty and the appropriate organs of the Central Committee will do everything to help you honorably fulfill your party assignment here at the college.

In the rest of my speech I wish to talk about a few timely issues, in the context that the year 1980 is of outstanding significance from many viewpoints in the country's, society's and the party's growth. The MSZMP held its 12th congress in March. Following this [4 April] we celebrate the 35th anniversary of our country's liberation. Then the congressional and council elections took place. We are in the last half year of our Fifth Five-Year Plan, working for as successful a conclusion as possible of the plan period; at the same time the Sixth Five-Year Plan is also being worked out. These domestic political events are in the closest interrelationship with each other and with the daily and long-range tasks of socialist constructive work.

The 12th congress--the party membership, in agreement with the people's desires--reaffirmed and further developed the MSZMP's present political line. Starting out from our actual situation it has specified the next tasks to be accomplished in building socialism, and by doing so it has provided the entire nation with a program.

During the extraordinarily broad spectrum of debate over guidelines then during the acceptance of the congress's resolutions and in the election campaign the manifestations made by the working masses urged us to consistently continue our present political line because this is the most important condition to successfully build socialism. The congress did fulfill this expectation of the masses; it reinforced and carried on further the party's politics. We are resolved to progress further along this path. But this must not mean that we stiffen up, because circumstances do change, requirements do increase, and we will have to conform to these.

Thus continuation of the present political line means harmony between the permanent and changing elements of politics and the party's working style. We want to, and we will consistently progress further along the Leninist way. We will stand fast by our political line, and will not deviate from it either to the right or to the left!

The MSZMP's politics is built firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on mutual trust between the party and the masses. This politics is internationalist and nationalist, it applies the universally valid laws for building socialism in a creative manner, takes into consideration the experience gathered by the fraternal parties [of other countries], considers the country's given natural conditions and characteristics with independent responsibility and great care. It both expresses and serves the interests of our working people and the international communist and workers' movements, and the universal interests of progress. The lessons learned in the more than six decades of the party's revolutionary battles and our people's historical experiences are expressed in our politics.

These policies which the party has worked out under the leadership of comrade Janos Kadar and defended in a two-front battle and developed further, have produced great results. I will emphasize here only that these policies and the working style coupled with it have given back to the masses their faith placed in socialism and the confidence towards the party. These policies have made it possible for us to implement the historic task of agriculture's socialist reorganization by following the Leninist principles for cooperatives, and to do so successfully in such a way that production has not decreased during reorganization. These policies made possible the reformation of our economic management system and the implementation of the principles decided upon with increasing consistency.

The Party's Leading Role Is Based On Correct Policies and On Convincing

This policy made it possible that today our people form a close socialist national unity and that for the first time during our history we have become a unified socialist nation. I am emphasizing this also because today the socialist national concentration of forces has particular significance since successful solution of the problem ahead of us requires us to close our ranks even more tightly. That is, consistent implementation of the principle that the party's leadership role is based on correct policies and on convincing people; it assumes good relationship between the party and the masses, providing honest information and exchange of opinions, and broad-based active participation in shaping and implementing the policies.

Therefore--following the direction shown by the 12th congress--we must consistently go on along the way of strengthening socialist democracy. The congressional campaign and election period have repeatedly provided convincing proof that this is the proper and successful path. During this period we were able to witness high levels of manifestation of party democracy as well as democracy in public life. The debates took place in an open, sincere and creative atmosphere. The results and mistakes received realistic evaluation; criticism, proposals and observations were voiced to promote socialist efforts. Thus, communists and people not in the party shaped policies together. The conclusion from this is obvious that we must do everything in the interest of getting the creative debating spirit, the willingness to act to realize the practical implementation of the congress's resolutions, and to do so every day and in every field.

No proof is needed that thinking together and acting together are indispensable conditions and resources which cannot be replaced by anything else in building socialism. Only by broadening the sphere of socialist democracy's effectiveness, by meaningfully operating the existing forums and suppressing the formalities in their characters can we promote that the socialist democracy which is the unity of rights and obligations, should become an even greater driving force of the socialist constructive work.

We have to start out from the point that good solution of the tasks before the party, the country and the people is unimaginable without broad involvement of the workers in public matters, and--the stand also taken by the 12th congress--in the decisions also, in all areas where this is possible. Neither true socialist discipline nor successful action can exist without this. Socialist democracy must be implemented in every day practice.

The interrelationship must also be pointed out which exists between party democracy and social democracy interpreted in the broader sense. The level of the former determined the latter to a decisive extent. That is, when we work to improve party democracy--this at the same time also represents work to improve the essential characteristic of socialism and the socialist democracy.

The Economic Issues Continue to Be In the Focus

An indispensable condition of implementing the economic policy adopted at the 12th congress, of the successful solution of the economic tasks is that the party and the people, the communists and those not in the party should cooperate and work together even better than before. It is no accident that the economic issues were and are in the focal point of attention at the congress and in the everyday lives of our lives. This is fundamentally justified by the fact that there is not one single area of our lives the development of which does not depend on the economy's achievements. Of course, the work being done in the other areas is also effected by the rate, quality, and momentum of economic growth. This is because society's overall performance is joined by the economic results--and of course one must here consider not only those working in direct production. Public education, the training of specialists, the levels of cultural and scientific activities, administration, the quality of services, consistent implementation of the socialist law, public order, the environment's condition--that is: the totality of socio-political environment--all have effects on the economic achievements.

It is necessary to emphasize this because when we speak about conforming to the changed and more difficult conditions and higher requirements, this is valid for all areas of society's activity.

The changed and more difficult conditions can be summarized as follows: First, in recent years the price and marketing conditions developed in a way commonly known to be unfavorable to us; the details of which I do not wish to go into at this time. I will only mention that currently we have to produce about 20 percent more exports for the same amount of imports as in 1973.

Secondly, moreover, the extensive resources of economic growth have been exhausted in this country. The economy has entered a stage of growth requiring more investments and equipment.

Of course we cannot blame or place the responsibility on the unfavorable foreign trade circumstances for all of our difficulties. Errors in our work here at home, in management and in implementation also form sources of the difficulties. That is, we cannot blame the external circumstances for the growth rate of economic efficiency being slower than would be possible, than what the economy's present technical, technological level would be capable of producing. And intensive development of the economy is a task to be emphasized at any rate, even independently of the foreign trade conditions. However, the situation makes the economy's intensive development even more urgent, increasing the level of technology, faster practical application of scientific results, more vigorous modernization of the production and product structures, rational and frugal economic operation--in other words: more efficient and good quality work, increasing production's international competitiveness and better utilization of our natural resources.

All these also require more rational utilization of our material and intellectual resources. In other words, it calls for higher quality of management, better organization, higher demands, more consistent and better disciplined execution. These are the requirements set by the 12th congress. We must support those [people] who take the initiative, who keep in mind not only the daily interests but also the long-range ones, and who courageously dare to take risks and act in the interest of this. Ability must be definitely supported in all areas. We must not be lenient with those managers who do not want to or who cannot work at the level of these higher requirements.

The [12th] congress also emphasized that it is the party's obligation and responsibility towards the people to solve the question of cadres on time and in a way which improves the situation. In this area also, we must act in the majority's interest. The fair thing to do--and this is what society will accept, this is what it demands--is that the person because of whom the collective as well as the cause suffer should not be allowed to be manager.

How will the higher requirements prevail in the economy? Even though the picture is a mixed one, still over-all it shows a tendency of improvement. In the first half of the year the economic processes in general corresponded to the plan's main economic policy guidelines. The main result is that improvement of the foreign trade balance which began last year has continued. Exports have expanded vigorously, imports are decreasing, the capitalist foreign trade balance deficit, that is, excess imports in the first half year were barely one-fifth of last year's first half. This was accompanied by a certain decrease in economic performance: industrial production, particularly that of the construction industry fell somewhat short not only of the plan but also of last year's first half. Prime contributors to this were the smaller

domestic demand and the cutback in investments. It is favorable that mainly those enterprises increased their production which can economically sell their products on the foreign market. It is also favorable that demand for imported materials and energy has decreased. Improvement can be seen in inventory management and some progress is also seen in the area of investments.

The number of people employed decreased in the first half year by about 46,000, approximately 3 percent compared to the first half of the last year. A new element in the decrease is that the number of people employed in nonphysical jobs is less. This is not a universal phenomenon yet, but it can be seen in many areas.

As far as agriculture is concerned: it can be said according to the present situation that if the corn ripens, the planned 5 percent increase in agricultural production may materialize--in spite of the fact that the flood and inland waters have caused damage, a loss of about 5 billion foreints. In addition to the significant loss of production, about 5,000 houses were damaged, 2,000 of these completely ruined; new ones will have to be built to replace them. The necessary steps have already been taken.

Our grain crop was good, and if the corn which promises a good harvest will actually turn out well, the foundations will have been created for--similarly to recent years--providing a good supply of food, including particularly of meat, and also for getting ahead in improving our foreign trade balance. The foundations for this are assured also in the area of livestock raising. We are confident that the agricultural workers and those people supporting them will do everything in the interest of successfully solving the tasks of the huge autumnal work load, the likes of which have never been seen in recent years, and thus will lay down good foundations for next year.

As far as the population's supply with goods is concerned, it must be said that after the deterioration seen in the year's first few months, which could be felt in many areas, the situation is basically balanced as a result of measures taken. The import and other measures and also coordination of the domestic production make it probable that in the second half year we can also count on satisfactory and balanced supply of merchandise.

Let's Create As Good Foundations As Possible For the State of the Sixth Five-Year Plan

Undoubtedly new efforts will be needed to fulfill the annual plan, and also to allow the favorable tendencies to develop and to solidify even better. This is indispensable for creating as good foundations as possible for the start of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

As the congress also said, it appears realistic and in harmony with our opportunities in the Sixth Five-Year Plan for us to plan a moderate growth rate coupled with significantly differentiated development and growth of production. The main goal now is that the qualitative characteristics of development should become stronger, modernization of the product structure should speed up, the technological level should increase, efficiency improve and competitiveness increase. Of course the more moderate growth cannot be a long-range goal! Therefore we must do everything in the interest of developing the above mentioned qualitative characteristics as soon as possible, so that they will exert their positive influence for growth to accelerate and the standard of living to improve.

The question arises: can such an economic policy be the motivating force which subordinates the rate of economic growth, the use of national income to reestablishing the national economy's equilibrium, and which considers protecting, solidification of the results already achieved, to be the most important task of the coming years? I think that the answer to this can and must be yes because at the present time only this endeavor is realistic. But I must add that we have to work hard even for this. I think it is hardly necessary to explore in more detail what we have to protect and what we must solidify. In short, what is involved here is our people during the course of their history have never stood at such a high level of affluence, of social progress as the one we have achieved--and we must solidify and protect this.

I would like to add that when we speak of moderate development, this--naturally--does not mean stagnation in one place with respect to the standard of living either. We wish to and we will proceed in the area of improving the standard of living! Especially in solving the housing problem which is society's most urgent concern. In the interest of this we wish to continue housing construction in harmony with the second 15-year housing construction program.

The efforts to be taken to solve the problems of young people embarking on their careers and establishing their families, improving the lot of those retired people with low retirement benefits, easing the living conditions of people with large families must not be removed from our agenda. We are making efforts in the interest of vigorous development of the network of child care institutions, health care and the school network. We also count balanced supply of goods as one of our central tasks. Of course we also must not lose from sight that first we have to produce before we can distribute anything. A situation must not be created where harmony between purchasing power and the merchandise basis is upset, because this could cause very serious political consequences.

Finally I wish to emphasize the following as far as the economic issues are concerned: we have no other realistic choice than adjusting our work to the higher demands caused by the changed foreign and domestic circumstances, and with steadfast efforts lay down the foundations for vigorous growth later. We do have the appropriate conditions for this. One such condition is the planned socialist economy based on social ownership. Further improving the economic management is another important positive factor for us. Our active participation in socialist economic integration is also a large resource of strength for us. We can build on human will power, knowledge and devotion, and do so even better than we have done in the past.

Strengthening Society's Socialist Characteristics

Perhaps one of the most important thoughts of the 12th congress is the one which refers to the increased role of the human factor. I speak about this in the correlation that ideological work, propaganda and agitation--but we can also list cultural activity here--must close their ranks more tightly to the tasks before us, to the requirements of socialist constructive work. In other words: the more moderate growth rate of economic development must not be accompanied by a slower rate of strengthening socialism's essential characteristics.

Production's qualitative factors can really develop only when society's socialist characteristics significantly increase in strength. We must help with joint efforts in the spreading of socialist consciousness and morale, and socialist behavior. The thinking and actions of a steadily increasing circle of people should be permeated

with respect and service of the public interest! For each and every person this should increasingly become an internal, moral obligation. We saw a beautiful example of this recently at the time of floods in the Kores valley. But similar steadfastness is needed in the everyday work also!

We must achieve that in our society, which is a society of work, work should be the sole foundation for evaluation, appreciation and success. Following the congress's guidance, it is necessary to prevent the formation of such incomes behind which there is no work or performance. We must suppress such negative phenomena as bureaucracy and corruption. This requires political work as well as definite measures taken by the state. The warning and criticism by those who work honestly, the overwhelming majority, that at times there is excessive patience shown against the antisocial phenomena, is true and is to be heeded. We must take more determined steps in the interest of increasing human responsibility, and against irresponsibility.

The Nation's Fate Will Be Solved Together by the Party And the People

We must also do more to spread and defend our ideology. There still exist hostile views in our society which arise at times gain and exert their effects, but which are alien to our ideology. There are of course efforts beyond our borders to fuel these and use them against us. One of the most serious among these is nationalism.

Nationalism is completely foreign to true patriotism. Naturally the love of the socialist homeland includes national consciousness, which means the same as responsibility felt for the country's fate, devoted service of our people's national interests, appreciation of our achievements and sincere pointing out and correcting of our errors: but at the same time it also assumes internationalist behavior, solidarity with the powers of socialism and progress and an unceasing fostering of the friendship between peoples. National self-respect cannot mean disrespect of other peoples! It also must not be interpreted on the nationalistic basis--this was also discussed at the congress--, that the situation of Hungarians living beyond our borders is not immaterial to us. What is involved here is that we guarantee the fundamental rights of nationalities living in our country, and in practice implement the Leninist nationality policy; we also expect the same from all other countries where there is a Hungarian minority.

We must also do more to urge the preservation of our people's great value nourished also by our historic past and enriched during the course of our socialist development; to cultivate its traditions. We hold to be a basic principle that just like in the past, the questions of the nation's fate will also in the future be solved by the party together with the people within the framework of socialism. What is needed is not empty words--even if they sound so beautiful by themselves--, but deeds. The test of true patriotism is the deed which wants to improve the people's destiny. Of course the imperialists consider nationalism to be their ally, and will do everything to take advantage of it in their anticommunist, anti-Soviet, antisocialist propaganda and undermining work.

Agreement on Principles Should in All Areas Be Followed by Unified Action

A few thoughts about the party and about communists. There is order in the party and healthy growth; the Leninist standards prevail. Unity extending over all main areas of politics characterizes it. Defending and strengthening this, and doing so while conforming to the new tasks, is a task which is the obligation of every one of us

from the Central Committee to the smallest basic organization. Now the emphasis must be placed on having uniform implementation follow the agreement on principles and tasks which have been worked out together at all levels and in every area.

Party unity is not some kind of passive agreement but concrete action and also such personal behavior which must take shape in the work of communists, in their political steadfastness and in setting a good example. The overwhelming majority of communists are characterized by manifesting the correct party attitude, carry out their responsibilities and properly use their rights. But there are also those among the party members, even if not in large numbers, who do not increase but wear away the party's moral stock. The large significance of it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the party and its members must be free of those negative traits against which mainly they are the ones who must consistently carry on the struggle, the fight. Communists should protect each other from mistakes, and by doing so they are also protecting the party. They should aid and respect each other--this is also one of the important components of our unity and of our unified action.

The moral requirements are the same for each and every party member, yet it is right and just for the community to expect more in this area from those whom confidence has placed into positions of leadership. For some people words and deeds do not always coincide, or they violate our moral standards. The party's universal interests demand that in such cases we must not be tolerant. I would also like to point out that modesty, partyline behavior and discipline are mandatory on the job as well as in one's private life. Our party serves the cause of the working class and the people with devotion, and it justly expects from each one of its members, particularly from the leadership, to do the same according to the best of their abilities.

This approach must also permeate the work being done in the party's political college. The yardstick of requirements must be raised higher here also--in harmony with the directions given by the 12th congress. This is necessary in order for the party's political college just as in the past so also in the future to be able to fill a positive role in the training of cadres and in spreading [the doctrine of] Marxism-Leninism and in scientifically cultivating it. Learning well and absorbing the resolution of the 12th congress, helping the spirit of the congress prevail are central tasks of teacher and student alike.

The conditions of constructive work are more difficult than in past years, there are more difficulties in the way of progress, but comrade Janos Kadar is right when he says "show me one year since our liberation which was easy." And really: each year behind us gave us many, many tasks and demanded efforts from us. Of course those years were not all alike, but efforts were always needed. And I will add this that at the present time not only are our tasks bigger, but we also have more strength and experience. And if we make better use of our opportunities, we will get ahead. First of all, because there is a readiness to act in the working masses, and what is most important, the masses have confidence in the party which--as in the last 24 years--serves the benefit of the working people and our country with unchanged devotion. The party and every one of the party's members have a great responsibility to see to it that our people are not disappointed in this legitimate expectation, that is, that we must consistently implement the resolutions of the 12th congress, stand our ground for our party, our people, and for the communist political line based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

JOURNAL COMMENTS ON WORK STOPPAGES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[PAP article by: Bohdan Rolinski "Important Problems and the Most Important One"]

[Text] Work Rhythm Disturbances

Work interruptions are occurring at some plants and enterprises. Demands concerning wages as well as work rules, organization and equipment are being advanced during these breaks.

Recently there were partial interruptions in Warsaw's municipal transport. On Wednesday and Thursday there were work interruptions which interfered with the normal rate of production at the Sandra stocking plant in Ludz Aleksandrow, the Teofilow Textile-Clothing Manufacture Plants, and at sections of the Gdansk Shipyards. (PAP)

The PAP report indicates a disturbing phenomenon which has again emerged in certain work places. It is that after a series of work stoppages last month at plants in several provinces, there have been work stoppages again in recent days, this time in our city as well.

On the surface this matter is simple: What emerges is a demand for higher pay. It is often supported by the concern that the current pay is being "eaten up" by an increase in the cost of living, sometimes by concern about the market and price consequences of a disastrous summer, and sometimes by concern over certain disproportions in the management of the wage fund, often within the plant itself. Nevertheless, in some instances the wage demand is made to the management of the plant after a work stoppage or some other interference. So what is to be done? Raise the wage...and back to work? That only appears simple.

Naturally, it is good to earn more than one is earning. But such an increase in today's pay only seems to be possible, with impunity, from the economic and social point of view and from the point of view of the best interests of citizens individually and as a group. Many sensible people who understand the merciless economic trap hidden in this method of wage increases understand its threat to the economy and to the workers themselves. This threat is also grasped by those who, interrupting work, understand that it is not possible for all to get the

increase, but who themselves want to get more. They understand the danger of the chase for zlotys, but give in to the attitude--already a psychosis of sorts--that as it occurs they will get it. Fine--but what next? And what about others?

Increasing numbers of people grasp the fact that the demand for more money is in the final analysis dangerous also to those who want to "obtain" for it. That is due to the fact that instead of guarding the value of the zloty, we may by this means decrease its actual worth.

The zloty's value is determined by the work we put into it, as measured by production. If we do not produce merchandise, if we do not give service, if we do not do work whose result is seen first of all in the stores and in efficient service to the citizen, then a wage increase will satisfy no one. We will run around in a circle and find ourselves back where we started.

I say this because that is how the workers' representatives are conducting the talks with management: together they bargain and bargain, revise, present agreed-upon proposals, then someone resubmits something--sometimes a single problem--and as time goes by the problem becomes more trivial, and once again the talks, bargaining and proposals ensue. Often this happens several times over, in a circle.

But during this time no work is being done, production stops, the bus does not pick up passengers. While talks are going on, while important arguments are being exchanged, the work time of employees not participating in the talks with managers and directors is being lost. The losses are suffered by all workers, including those, for example, who cannot get to their jobs. This reduces our combined national production, the goods to be shared--to be shared also with those who have already put in their working years--the retirees, pensioners, adults with children, persons benefiting from social welfare, from funds jointly earned and shared by society.

It is probably unnecessary to add that the atmosphere accompanying work stoppages also creates the previously-described mood in neighboring plants and at home. That mood promotes rumors and gossip of various sorts and from various sources. It does not promote the very much needed climate of reason and calm at work or, despite this year's weather, quiet and deserved rest for workers.

It is also true that work stoppage by all or some of the employees gathering for the purpose of adjusting wages may put off solving other important production problems and socio-economic conditions, since production stoppages gives rise to successive problems.

But the greatest danger lies in the fact that in a tense atmosphere of a naturally-increasing wave of demands and correct and important--as well as incorrect and less important, or even at present unrealistic--conclusions, there may arise demagoguery or a stance or position which is contrary to the interests of working people, the plants or the society and nation. Can we take this road? Can we be certain that a bit of demagoguery or ill-will might not prevail? Will the reason of those who want the best for the workers, who are certainly bringing up important matters, overcome? Yes--these are important problems, but there is also the most important one.

The most important problem is to guard the already-attained standard of living and to create conditions for its gradual, systematic rise which, in the immediate future, will most certainly be slower than in past years. This most important problem may be dealt with only through production, work, creation of goods and assuring for others efficiently-working services, including transport. It may be dealt with by improving work organization, creating favorable work conditions, improving administration, strengthening worker self-government, and eliminating management errors.

This most important problem may be dealt with only in a work atmosphere.

Today, our common problem does not lie in the area of money, but rather in the area of goods. True, the work stoppages to date have not yet had any crucial effect on market and industry supplies, although they surely have brought about sizeable losses. But duplication of such means of stopping production, or stopping such essential services as municipal transportation, for example, could cause enormous damage in other enterprises and in services to society. Considerable thought must be given to this.

The majority of working people understand this problem, although they too would like to bring home more than they do. Everyone wants to earn more than he does, but can this be accomplished by forcing hasty increases?

Many people realize that more problems are the result of the state of market supplies than of today's wage levels. Many difficult problems occurred this year in our nation--and it is small comfort that they occurred in others as well. We are discussing them and considering and seeking ways to eliminate unfavorable occurrences. This is not the place for a list of problems with which we are struggling every day and which we are overcoming, some with better and some with worse results. We are overcoming them, because we must win in the interest of all. What is relevant, however, is to realize that this year's scarcity is being felt in market supplies, and not only where meat is concerned. We know that this problem can be solved in the long run by implementation of a two-stage move planned by the government and carried out by agriculture. On the other hand, shortages of flour, grain and sugar which are appearing in certain areas should be offset as quickly as possible by the new harvests which, despite catastrophes in certain agricultural regions, promise to be quite good. Of course, supplies are also affected by the organization of purchasing center and marketing activities, and by the increased efforts of workers engaged in this important area. And, needless to say, they are often affected by the proprietor's attention to the store and customers. The vast majority of workers in commerce work hard and honestly, and for that deserve respect. When new supplies arrive, this effort will doubtless be doubled.

One more problem is worth noticing. It has to do with industrial enterprises, where shortages of raw materials and other materials which are cooperative components are nothing new. Today the principal task of industrial organizers is to assure continuing utilization of production strength. It is precisely to thwart difficulties that we must work better. Proper steps are being taken in this area. On the other hand, the job of the plants--of administration as well as workers--is to take the best advantage possible of that which best serves

production. We must take advantage of all opportunities to produce for stores and for export in order to strengthen our economy and also create conditions for increasing real earnings.

After reading the PAP report, I have shared only a few thoughts with my readers. There are more matters, problems, proposals and considerations. These are daily subjects for society, working people, all aware citizens, and those who are responsible for production, as well as those responsible for management.

Important talks are taking place at the plants. They deal with many matters essential to working people, who are properly indicating what must and what should change for the better. There is no lack of bitterness and tough reproaches in these talks, but in the majority--the great majority--of plants these discussions are leading to a search for means of eliminating unfavorable occurrences. They are aiming to reach the proper conclusions, both those resulting from the government program and those from the discussions in progress, for applying daily production and social practices, for ensuring proper and honest supervision of implementation of decisions, and for seeking causes for the problems and improving work for all.

Exactly--work. Whatever gains one wants to obtain, however just the demands to be fulfilled, they can be accomplished only in an atmosphere of work, reason, order and calm. Nerves, hot-headedness and giving in to such an atmosphere will accomplish no good. More and more the population feels the need for calm, for working without disturbances. The greater the difficulties the greater the need for calm and reason.

There are no problems in any plant or any work cooperative which cannot be discussed. There are no problems which cannot be critically and self-critically evaluated. There are no subjects which cannot be considered. However, there is one fundamental principle which should be the basis of social coexistence: it is work and fulfillment by everyone of obligations undertaken.

It is today's most important requirement. It is the citizen's obligation. It is society's need.

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KATOWICE PROSECUTOR DISCUSSES PROBLEMS AFFECTING LAW ENFORCEMENT

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 27-28 Sep 80 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Zdzislaw Kupiec, Katowice Voivodship Prosecutor, by Maria Kujawa-Szymonowicz: "Legally Means With Justice"]

[Text] Such phenomena as a dangerous growth of economic crime, bribery, corruption, numerous recently-revealed cases of criminal disregard of duties of one's office and misuse of position to obtain improper financial advantage, as well as larcenous attitudes and various actions aimed at circumventing the law have lately become a subject of universal discussion and the object of justified criticism.

[Question] What is the office of the public prosecutor doing to strengthen law and order?

[Answer] As the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic, Comrade Lucjan Czubinski, stated in an interview with the Polish Press Agency, the prosecutor's office always, within the limits of its functions, has endeavored to respond to irregularities known to it. Those problems which the public is discussing in such a lively manner at the present time have long been addressed by the office of the public prosecutor. We are presently doing this with even greater consistency. Our most important tasks, in general terms, include protection of the interests of the state and its citizens, as well as public property. Dominant among actions undertaken recently have been those aimed at protecting public property and protecting the marketplace, and especially ensuring proper distribution of goods, quality of performed services as well as prices, plus maintaining law and order. We are devoting particular attention to verification of the legality of administrative decisions, since many irregularities are occurring in this area. As an example I shall state that we have arrested several persons who made decisions on the basis of receiving material gain.

[Question] What specific cases has the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Katowice dealt with recently?

[Answer] I shall speak rather of certain groups of cases than of specific criminals and crimes. I should like to comment that the prosecutor's office deals not only with prosecution of discovered crimes but also monitors the state of observance of the law and crime-prevention activities.

[Question] Could you comment on crime prevention?

[Answer] Yes. That is of great importance for strengthening law and order. For example, in the course of examining correctness of safeguarding and management of public property, on three occasions in the last two years we have conducted, jointly with the Citizens' Militia and State Inspection officials, inspection of construction sites. A number of irregularities were noted at construction sites, especially in the area of management and care of property, labor discipline, and law and order in general. As a result of these actions, a total of 180 workers were punished for infractions, and 100 enterprises were inspected for labor discipline. A price inspection was conducted at more than 20 enterprises. We also analyzed the correctness of operation of transportation, liquid fuel consumption and management, product quality, and utilization of funds earmarked for financial assistance to the aged and infirm.

[Question] Falsification of economic statistics has become a serious problem. Is this also confirmed in the cases handled by the prosecutor's office?

[Answer] We have examined 112 enterprises in this regard. Acts of statistical dishonesty of various kinds were found in 80 units, involving overstatement of capital investment results, production or services performed for the public. In some instances these overstatements affected "fulfillment" of production targets and thus served as a "basis" for paying undeserved rewards and bonuses. Criminal action was instituted in seven such cases. Administrative action was taken in 67 cases, and 18 cases were turned over to Party Audit Commissions. As regards overstating production target fulfillment and work performance, criminal proceedings were brought against the Kosbud Labor Cooperative in Chorzow, the Bacutil Feed Industry Enterprise in Katowice, and the Municipal Engineering Establishment in Zory. Department officials from the Labor Cooperative in Bytom and Bedzin were made criminally liable for overstatement of the magnitude of services performed for the public. Criminal proceedings were brought against a group of officials at the Transbud Transport Equipment Construction Enterprise in Sosnowiec and the Delam Disabled Veterans Cooperative in Dabrowa Gornicza for overstatement of transport services targets and sales targets.

[Question] The operation of agency stores arouses many questions....

[Answer] We have also dealt with this matter. Trade continues to be incorrectly organized. An attempt to streamline trade and make it more efficient by means of an agency system has not succeeded up to the present time. Preliminary investigations conducted by the prosecutor's office revealed a number of irregularities in this area, especially connected with transfer of public property to agents, establishment of incorrect prearranged remuneration rates, and selection of agents. As a result of these actions the Katowice Governor, executing our demands, issued an order restricting opportunities to conclude new agency contracts until correction of abuses, and socialized trade departments were correspondingly ordered to verify current contractual arrangements. In addition, and this would seem to be very significant, the chairman of the Food Administration Bank issued an order abolishing the system of settling accounts with agents, introducing in place of the previously-employed savings-settlement accounts, the requirement that current accounts be maintained. The varying interpretation of regulations, caused by their lack of clarity, offers considerable opportunity for abuses, not only in the case of agency trade.

[Question] I would not call any of the instances mentioned up to this point, however, a major economic scandal. Do not such cases occur in this country?

[Answer] What you have in mind are crimes involving losses running into the millions, right? One such affair is the case of the officials at Polgaz in Pzeczyna, a typical example of poor management engendering criminal actions. As a result of simply incredible organizational confusion reigning at that enterprise, losses occurred amounting to several tens of millions of zlotys; also on the court calendar, to be heard in the very near future, is the case of the "half-timers" at the PW Energomontaz Enterprise in Chorzow. Thirty-five percent of administrative personnel and approximately 27 percent of the laborers employed by that enterprise held part-time jobs at various enterprises, frequently quite distant from their main workplace, such as the Sokolow Podlaski Sugar Mill. Obviously these half-salary positions were not obtained without cost. It has been proven that several department chiefs have accepted approximately 1 million zlotys in bribes. Several million zlotys in losses also occurred from theft of auto parts at the Polmozbyt store in Katowice. The investigation of the "scrap metal affair" is still in progress. A case was recently adjudicated which involved two officials at the Raciborz Polmos Alcohol Industry Enterprise, who "forgot" to shut a valve, as a result of which 7,300 liters of alcohol drained out, causing a loss valued at several million zlotys.

[Question] Is crime increasing?

[Answer] In Katowice Voivodship, on the whole crime is not showing an upward trend. On the other hand, at the present time there are definitely being disclosed more cases of various irregularities in the functioning and operation of certain economic units. We are also receiving more reports than at any time in the past on cases of abuse of position and violation of principles of discipline. Our observations indicate that there are also occurring at the present time more cases of destruction of enterprise property which is inadequately protected and safeguarded. Also disturbing -- we noted this specifically in September -- is a lessening of apparent supervision of children and young people. They are encountered in the streets and in places where they should not be, even late at night. The number of offenses committed by young people is increasing. In conclusion I should like to emphasize that we greatly appreciate cooperation with the public and we count heavily on the sensitivity of public opinion and assistance in disclosing all manifestations of violation of law and order, abuse of authority, and deliberate evasion of regulations. It is precisely thanks to assistance by the public that prosecutor's office officials have brought many cases to light and have eliminated many negative phenomena, bringing the guilty parties to justice. In recent weeks have received a particularly large number of various reports from private citizens and spokesmen for work forces. All these reports are thoroughly investigated and will be conscientiously followed through. We are primarily interested, however, in receiving truthful information dictated by a sense of civic responsibility, not based on rumors and gossip based on personal animosity. The law directs the prosecutor's office to concern itself with defending the good name of every upright citizen. It is the task of the prosecutor's office as guarantor of law and order to protect the interests of both parties, both persons providing information and those persons with whom such reports deal. There must be a high standard of decency and mutual respect. We believe that cooperation with the public will continue to grow and develop. This will enable us to respond more swiftly to irregularities and enable us more effectively to combat all instances of lack of respect for the law.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

BOOK ON NATO ARMS MARKET REVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowicz in the International Affairs section: "Machinery of Peril"]

[Text] Zbigniew Bako's book, "NATO--The Arms Marketplace," is a research work of great current importance. Reading it permits an in-depth understanding of the workings of one of the greatest dangers presently menacing humanity: the arms race which is being promoted by the major nations of NATO.

The author's point of departure is the world's constantly-growing military spending which, according to UN forecasts, may reach 460 billion dollars this year, thus exceeding all the governments' health and education budgets.

The responsibility of the principal NATO nations for the above state of affairs stems from, among other things, the fact that being economic giants, they take advantage of their enormous economic-military potential to exert pressure and impose their positions on other nations. The peacetime policy of the Warsaw Pact governments limits the range and scope of the Atlantic bloc's diktat; nevertheless, it is still dangerously gre

The structure of the industry working to fulfill NATO's military needs has been very penetratingly exposed. The author emphasizes that the armed forces' material and technical resource needs are so varied that almost all branches of industry are involved in filling them. In fact, almost all industries are interested in obtaining military orders and thus become advocates of high military budgets.

However, the basic role in intensifying the arms spiral is played by businesses belonging to the so-called military-industrial complex, which manufacture the final military products or 'plements of war. The major arms manufacturers are the United States, France, West Germany and Great Britain. The United States holds first place, with its military expenditures accounting for 70 percent of NATO's total expenses.

The author devotes a great deal of space to the historically unique sociopolitical phenomenon of pressure groups which force the NATO nations' outlays for armaments and production of new defense systems.

These are associations of an informal nature, having no formal organizational structure or formal headquarters, but nevertheless working efficiently and successfully. Who are their members?

The author answers that this powerful lobby is comprised of the army, owners and managers of the armaments industry (that is a particularly large group; approximately 100,000 firms are regularly involved in filling Pentagon orders), members of government who are grateful for election campaign support, as well as employees of armaments factories. Around these four basic groups are gathered various people, among them professional politicians, ideologists fighting the imaginary "communist threat," union leaders with industry connections, government advisors, etc.

The military-economic potential of the NATO nations is great, writes the author. If it were used for war, it would bring enormous human losses and suffering. For that reason the principal task before international society is the maintenance and consolidation of tension-reducing processes. The book which has been reviewed here offers valuable input toward strengthening awareness of this.

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CURRENT TRENDS IN AVIATION MEDICINE DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 80
pp 209-213

[Article by Colonel Dr Florin Uleu]

[Text] Today, aviation medicine is unanimously recognized as a medical specialty with its own research topics and methods. This raises the need to find the most appropriate approaches for training and educating aviation medical personnel, and for adopting a specific system for accreditation and promotion.

Under the present circumstances, the position of doctor specializing in aviation medicine should be held by the unit doctor, who is most familiar with the adaptation of pilots to the physical and psycho-emotional demands of actual flight.

We estimate that a specialist accreditation could be obtained after an assignment of at least three years in aviation units, followed by attendance of a postgraduate course with a specific topic. An aviation medicine chair at the School for Military Medicine, and the Center for Aviation Medicine would provide a framework for theoretical and practical teaching.

The accreditation of the unit doctor as specialist, and the possible availability of sophisticated equipment, would result in a more competent determination of flight capability before flights, and in the creation of conditions for scientific research for better professional achievements.

Postgraduate study Aviation medicine

Faithfully following the development of aviation, aviation medicine pursues an ascending path and defines its own domain as a unanimously recognized medical specialty, while expanding its interaction with biology, psychology, pedagogy, physics, chemistry, and even mathematics, radioelectronics, cybernetics, aerodynamics, and aircraft construction.

Aviation medicine is concerned with providing medical care to a profession that is exercised in a working environment hostile to man, counter-physiologic, under conditions similar to those encountered in the navy, in underwater activities, in mines, on mountains, in very cold or very hot climates, in the fuel industry, in microwave and toxic environments, and so on. In this respect, it thus becomes labor medicine, with a possible professional pathology.

Aviation Medicine, a Medical Specialty

Aviation medicine has its own research topics and methods. Its specific domain is the study, under simulated and real conditions, of flight factors -- acceleration, hypobarism, hypoxia, hypothermia and hyperthermia, radiations -- of the stress they place on organisms, and of the possible adaptations to such stresses, which in supersonic flight reach the limits of human resistance. Current research is studying the correlation between man and flight technology, and the ergonomic factors of flight.

Aviation medicine studies and proposes technical and medical means for protecting the health of flight personnel, as well as measures for increasing the personnel's physical and psychological effort capabilities. Resorting to clinical and laboratory examinations in all medical specialties, determinations are made of the health condition, as well as the flight compatibility and incompatibility of flight personnel, and of the pathologic condition of pilots and passengers, upon whom flight factors can have a negative influence. The purpose of recovery and prevention steps is to assure complete flight reliability.

Romanian Aviation Medicine

Romanian aviation medicine, whose existence was officially confirmed in 1920 with the establishment of the air force health services, has responded successfully to the concrete demands for specialized assistance from the military and civilian aviation in our country, at their present level of development. The Center for Aviation Medicine is a specialized institution whose personnel has not only acquired extensive experience in medically certifying flight personnel, but has also made a contribution of unquestionable value through the medical selection of the first Romanian candidates for space flight. The Psychology Laboratory of the center has formulated its own methods and designed its own instruments, both for psychologic investigations associated with the selection and promotion of flight personnel, and for testing astronaut candidates.

An equally important role is played by unit doctors, who are fully competent to assure the medical preparation and conduct of flights, to provide individualized medical supervision for flight personnel, and to responsibly approve daily flight capabilities at air fields.

The unit doctor is respected even by his specialized 'peers' as being the best judge of the manner in which each pilot adapts to the physical and psycho-emotional stresses of actual flights. No matter how complete they may be, simulated conditions are nevertheless inferior to real ones, as in fact true imponderability cannot be achieved by simulators in the training of astronauts. To support the unit doctor in obtaining objective data about the flight capability of flight personnel in day-to-day experience, it has become necessary to undertake air-to-ground data transmission and to endow units with portable electronic equipment for the rapid testing of physiologic and psychologic data at air fields.

Special efforts have been made during the last three years to provide the Center for Aviation Medicine with a new building and modern equipment. Today, the center has at its disposal medical instruments and installations compatible with current requirements, and new equipment is being constructed to assure total and complete expertise under flight conditions simulated in the laboratory.

The Center for Aviation Medicine has also made spectacular gains -- qualitatively and quantitatively -- in staffing its facilities.

Training Specialized Medical Staffs

At present, Romania is concerned with finding the most appropriate means for training and improving the education of specialized medical personnel, and for adopting our own system for accreditation and promotion; this assumes the need for a Romanian school for aviation medicine.

In our opinion this need could be met within the higher military medical education system, insofar as our country's aviation medicine arose and developed as part of our military aviation. At present it appears as the first military branch medicine specialty, since aviation technology and science are proving to be advanced fields both nationally and internationally.

Our aviation medicine exists de facto since 1920, with the founding of the Aviation Medical Station, and was recognized de jure last year, when the Decree of the Council of State No 168 designed the present Center for Aviation Medicine as the unique organ for determining and establishing the flight capability of flight personnel.

We believe that at present, the title of specialist should be held by the aviation unit doctor. It is well known that in the medical world and even in conventional wisdom, professional competence is considered to be a function of the specialist.

The specialist accreditation of doctors at the Center for Aviation Medicine in the traditional mold of medical and laboratory specialties, and even in the domain of aviation medicine functional exploration, represents a partial approach to aviation medicine, in fact a supraspecialization. This

statement is valid even when we consider that each specialist gathers, in addition to his conventional training, the experience of specialized examinations of, and assistance to flight personnel of all categories -- candidates, students, cadre -- an experience which is in fact indispensable to any aviation doctor.

Hence the need to formulate precise answers to the question: What is aviation medicine? as well as to another, derivative question: Which doctor represents this branch of medicine?

Aviation medicine has been defined by Armstrong as "that chapter of medicine which concerns itself with all the medical problems in aviation." This makes the point that aviation medicine is not limited to the study of a given illness or group of illnesses, as in the case of many specialties, but rather that it devotes its attention to the entire organism and is characterized by the fact that it exists in four dimensions. Of these, the third dimension is the vertical, in terms of altitude and its harmful effects on the organism, and the fourth dimension is time, given that medical observations of flight personnel are carried out throughout the person's activity in aviation.

Without even enumerating its many scientific and practical tasks, we can conclude that aviation medicine, which is constantly expanding its sphere of interests and its contact points with other domains, cannot be fully encompassed except at the level of an integrative and continuous medicine.

Because the object of the unit doctor's attention is the healthy or sick flier, and because the airman's history is well known to him, the doctor develops a closeness with the fliers and is trusted without reservation. That is why he is expected to have a sound knowledge of internal medicine and of medico-surgical emergencies, to be a good diagnostician of incipient, asymptomatic forms of diseases which could lead to a loss of flight capabilities, an accurate observer and therefore a good psychologist, and be able to use modern equipment with which he can objectively determine the physiologic and psychologic state of a pilot before, during, and after a flight. The unit doctor is entrusted with complex tasks of high responsibility, mostly unstandardized, in assuring the medical conditions of flights and in assessing the flight capabilities of flight personnel.

Specialization of Unit Doctor in Aviation Medicine

There is thus an obvious need for aviation medicine to have a fully competent representative in units, at air fields, wherever aviation plays a live role, wherever theory and practice must blend organically and harmoniously. We believe that a doctor, having practiced at least three years in aviation units, can be accredited as aviation medicine specialist after having completed a postgraduate course on a specific topic, which includes elements of aviation physiology and physiopathology, medical and psychological expertise, aviation hygiene, aviation health organization, aviation ergonomics, as well as medical training and health education of flight personnel.

The framework for specialization could be formed by an aviation medicine chair within the School for Military Medicine. The Center for Aviation Medicine could be used as a base for specific training, since it currently fulfills the necessary conditions for staffing and endowment.

We feel that it is completely realistic to approach the present problems of aviation medicine as an outlook for unit doctors, and that it is fully necessary to raise the level of training, the professional prestige of the doctor, and the prestige of aviation medicine in our country, so as to keep pace with the modern technology of military and civilian aviation.

This creates the foundations of real progress for the present level of training and education of unit doctors in aviation, as well as for their professional standings and the endowment of aviation units with medical equipment, so as to attain working conditions as similar as possible to those at the Center for Aviation Medicine.

The accreditation of unit doctors as specialists, and their endowment with equipment at the level of current requirements will assure greater competence and value in medical decisions taken at air fields regarding the day-to-day flight aptitudes of the personnel, as well as conditions suitable for the development of scientific research into the behavior of airmen during actual flights. In this way, the authority of the unit doctor will approach that of specialists at the Center for Aviation Medicine. Aviation unit doctors will thus be able to achieve professional advancement at their place of work.

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ARMED FORCES' BLOOD DONATIONS IN WAR, PEACE VIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 80
pp 147-151

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Dr Tiberiu Georgescu]

[Text] In a modern war, the large number of wounded will at times require appreciable quantities of blood for transfusions.

Because under field conditions, a centralized supply of blood or materials for blood collection and storage will be very difficult to achieve, blood centers will have to operate as autonomous units. It is also proposed that fighting units obtain the amounts of blood they need from their own donors, as has been demonstrated by the experience of recent armed conflicts throughout the world.

In order to properly meet the demand for transfusion blood, organizational steps must be taken during peacetime. Equally useful is a sustained medical education effort, with the contribution not only of doctors, but of all military cadre, using the most varied and effective means of publicity.

Blood donors Military personnel

One of the major tasks of medical assistance in modern war is to provide blood and blood derivatives. According to many groups of specialists, it is generally estimated that the treatment of 1000 wounded for one month would require 3000 l of preserved blood, 100 l of plasma, and 2500 l of substitutes.

The demand however, will not be the same throughout the hostilities. The use of mass destruction weapons, as well as the speed and intensity of military actions cause extremely large health losses, not only in the ranks of the fighting forces, but among civilians as well.. Consequently, sudden increases in the demand for blood will occur during certain phases of military operations, thus imposing a limitation on the amounts to be used.

It should also be pointed out that the real consumption of blood will depend not so much on predetermined quotas, as on the actual delivery capabilities of collection services.

Blood Collection and Storage During a War's Initial Period

The present organization of blood collection in our country, and the difficulties encountered in covering the entire territory with a network of units with autonomous operating capabilities, on one hand, and the guideline figures for eventual needs on the other hand, lead us to believe that very large quantities of blood will have to be collected, representing up to several times the amount of those obtained in peacetime.

Because the current structure and endowment of the Ministry of Health network will not be able to meet the increased demand of wartime, they must be reconsidered. The main problem that will arise will be the rapid recruitment of a large number of donors.

A valuable contribution in this respect will be made by civil defense; through its new legally defined organization, it will make available a large number of donors during wartime, namely rural inhabitants and non-drafted personnel in industrial enterprises.

During the initial period of a war, Red Cross workers will be able to mobilize donor groups independently of their place of work or address, donors whose records must be already be known during peacetime. It is also in peacetime that these workers will have the task of conducting a sustained publicity for blood donations.

Since blood donation is a problem even during peacetime, being given special attention by our party and state leadership, we believe that in addition to the Red Cross, the publicity efforts should involve all mass, public, women's, and youth organizations.

Some preliminary measures must be taken for county centers of blood collection and preservation because the major activity in this respect will be concentrated around these centers during a campaign, and especially during the initial period of a war. This involves: optimum organization of donor networks; organizing donations from recruits at county military centers; organizing the decentralized preparation of stabilizing solutions; providing means for transporting and preserving blood, as well as the most rapid methods for receiving, sorting, and distributing it; creating stocks of materials for small scale collection and preservation, in small, lightweight, and unprepossessing containers.

All of this will have to be assured through a close collaboration between civilian and military organs.

Assuring Blood for Transfusions Under Certain Fighting Conditions

Because according to Romania's military doctrine an eventual armed conflict would be solely a defensive war, it is not impossible that the nation's territory might be temporarily fragmented until the aggressor is finally pushed beyond the national borders.

To the above must be added other particular circumstances, such as: destruction of major railways; destruction of roads, or their closure by troops, fighting, or refugees; difficult air transportation by means of small airplanes or helicopters, due either to unavailability, lack of fuel, or enemy control of air lanes.

Under such conditions some zones can remain isolated from the rest of the country for a given time, zones which have military units, national guards, or youth training units along with the civilian population. Similarly possible is the surrounding of some troops, whose release would not be immediately possible.

These considerations clearly exclude the supply with blood from other zones that are not affected by military operations. This will therefore raise large problems of material supply, staffing with qualified personnel, and recruitment of blood donors, and primarily of planning and organization.

As a result, the fighting forces and reservists will both have to provide from their own resources, the amounts of blood that they will need.

In applying this principle, one unit of blood will be collected from each fighting man one or two days before a battle. It will thus be possible to obtain the amount of blood required to meet immediate needs, with subsequent needs to be satisfied with collections from the civilian population in the area.

The experience gained from recent military campaigns in various areas of the world is illustrative in this respect. The medical services of some armies have used for transfusions, blood collected almost exclusively from soldiers before they engaged in battle. This process, which definitely does not impair the soldiers' fighting ability, has proven to be reliable, practical, and economical.

Taking into consideration the eventual supply and operating difficulties that can arise during a campaign, our collective considers that some steps are necessary, steps which have already been undertaken by the Army Blood Center.

They involve: replacing with domestic products the anticoagulants and stabilizers which are now being imported; abandoning if the need arises, the current plastic kits, and preparing our own collection devices as we did many years ago; distilling water with simple and readily transportable devices; sterilizing in vertical, portable autoclaves which can use any

available fuel; using natural ice for blood preservation, a reason for which we believe it would be useful to locate icehouses throughout the country, to be supplied during the winter from the running water, lakes, or ponds in their area.

Many of these measures could prove their usefulness even in case of natural disasters.

Blood Donations by the Armed Forces

The legal basis for the above is the Health Law, Decree No 94/1979, Technical Instructions No 44/1970 of the Ministry of Health, and within our own ministry, General Order No 38/1979.

According to the provisions of these regulatory acts, blood collection from the armed forces throughout the country during the last 10 years, with the exception of Bucharest, has been conducted by the collection centers of the Ministry of Health. In Bucharest, this activity was carried out by the Army Blood Center.

The experience garnered during the 10 years since our center restarted its activities, leads to certain conclusions:

1. Sufficient possibilities exist to provide blood both for the Central Military Hospital and for other hospitals of the garrison. However, the participation of the armed forces, outside of their training process, at construction, industrial, and other work sites, creates collection difficulties and raises problems for an adequate supply of blood at the Central Military Hospital.

We should nevertheless point out here that the peacetime needs of military hospitals can be met for the most part with the blood collected from friends and relatives of patients, as provided in the Technical Instructions No 44/1970 of the Ministry of Health.

2. An unjustified inertia on the part of some commanders, leadership cadre, and even doctors, is still noted when their units are faced with such a task. The Blood Center consequently encounters some difficulties when it undertakes donation efforts in military units.

3. The center's personnel has been able to face any volume of work, collecting not always under optimum conditions, with a mobile team travelling long distances from the Bucharest garrison.

4. Laboratory tests have been of good quality, with no post-transfusion accident being recorded during 10 years for blood delivered by our unit.

We believe that substantial possibilities for improvement exist in the collection of blood from the armed forces; the proportion of voluntary donations could be increased through a greater participation of military personnel of all ranks, and especially of enlisted men.

At the same time, because a blood donation constitutes a patriotic action of human solidarity, in essence a matter of political education, we deem it necessary to receive the support of party organs and organizations in the army. As part of their functions, political education resources, the central and branch military press, military radio and television broadcasts, and the army's film studio, can communicate to every soldier, messages associated with blood donations.

The goal sought by radio and television broadcasts, educational films, posters, folders, and brochures on this topic, will have to be a modification of the selfish, fundamentally mistaken attitude that blood is considered as a personal property, and that there exists a right to be helped when in need, but not a duty to help others under the same circumstances.

But before anything else, we will have to convince commanders of the profoundly unscientific, mistaken nature of the mentality which holds that blood donation is dangerous. They are the first ones interested in the rapid recovery of their surgery patients through blood donations obtained from their own units.

It is similarly necessary to introduce health education hours with appropriate contents in active and reserve officer schools, and to organize the information of military personnel of all ranks, so as to create mass opinions which will not be merely limited to a simple campaign.

The response of commanders and unit doctors in blood donation activities will have to go beyond the stage of benevolence and volunteering. The contribution they make in participating in the blood donation efforts of their own units will have to be a criterion in assessing their work, in promotion, and in admission to examinations and competitions. Those with good records should be given priority for spa and rest cures, as well as for compensation, all in accordance with military regulations.

We believe that it is possible for each person in the armed forces to donate twice in one cycle, without creating any hardship for the personnel's military training.

In supporting the above we are envisaging the logical conclusion that can be reached. Whether or not blood will present a problem in a campaign, will depend on the manner in which the armed forces will contribute their own blood to meet urgent needs, as well as on the manner in which military cadre will understand in peacetime the imperative need for this action.

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

DEATH OF CATHOLIC BISHOP--Catholic Bishop Aron Marton died on 29 September in Alba Iulia at the age of 84. He served the local Catholic diocese meritoriously for 42 years. When the communist regime was installed in the country, Bishop Aron Marton was arrested and he was in the communist jails from 1945 to 1955. He was arrested again in 1957 and put under house arrest until 1967. The Pope spoke words of praise about the deceased prelate in St. Peter's Square in Rome in the presence of thousands of believers. He was buried in the Alba Iulia Cathedral in the presence of his successor Bishop Jakab Antal and a large number of believers. The newspapers in the Socialist Republic of Romania did not publish any announcement of his death. [Text] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Oct 80 p 3]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Tesu is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 80, 8 Oct 80 p 2]

CSO: 2700

MILOVAN DJILAS COMMENTS ON SOVIET SYSTEM

Bonn DIE WELT in German 9 Oct 80 p 8

[Exclusive article by Milovan Djilas: "'Internally and Externally, the Soviet Systems Can Survive Only by Force'"]

[Text] A dangerous fallacy is spreading in the world, particularly in the West; namely, that Soviet expansionism resembles Western capitalist imperialism. This fallacy is current not only among communists and socialists whose attitude toward the Soviet system is also critical otherwise; rather, it can also be found in liberal and conservative circles.

The fallacy derives from the following analogy: Since capitalist imperialism consisted of expansion, domination and exploitation, Soviet expansionism or imperialism cannot be any different either.

Analogies are necessary, unavoidable aids, though they simplify reality and thus also cloud it. Analogies are checked past realizations which are applied to an unexamined present and an uncertain future. Analogies mislead, however, if more is expected of them than they can yield: they can note the similarity but not the identity of two phenomena.

To be sure, comparisons between Western and Soviet imperialism are not unfounded. What is unfounded is to consider them one and the same. That leads us astray.

Capitalism (if this term, like socialism and communism, is applied with reservations in the generally customary, not scientifically analytical, meaning) potentially includes imperialism but need not be imperialistic. The northern capitalist states were not imperialistic. In the development of the most advanced capitalist country, the United States of America, imperialism, colonies and the export of capital did not play a vital role.

The same can also be said of feudalism: it was possible but not necessary for it to be imperialistic. What is more, it was not characteristic either of the capitalism of the empire states to be imperialistic as a whole--"inevitably," "by their nature," as the communists would say. Rather, what was imperialistic was the groupings and branches of capital that were not profitable "at home." These combined with adventurists and fanatics to conquer new markets, cheap labor and rare raw materials.

The Boer War (1899-1902), according to Lenin, was the first war of the imperialistic phase of capitalism. But that war provoked the resistance not only of European and British socialists but of important segments of the British bourgeoisie. In short, imperialistic strivings and undertakings can, but need not, gain the upper hand in the national capitalist state.

Capitalist imperialisms proceeded slowly. They met with resistance at home and abroad. Precisely resistance abroad by rival great powers and competing enterprises helped in the suppression of domestic opponents and contributed to unbridled expansion. The idea was: If we do not conquer, they will do so and thus be stronger.

Capitalism obtained special profits in the colonies, destroying patriarchal cultures there as well as at home. But it also brought science and industrial civilization. Thus the world awaited the 20th century divided between big powers and big combines; there were no empty spaces any more than there was peace, and world wars became unavoidable.

Lenin thought that capitalism had thus entered its highest, final phase. This was the premise of the strategy of the Soviet Union and the communists between the two wars and even in the first few years after 1945. It followed from Lenin's theory that capitalism could not exist without colonies, without colonial and imperialistic wars. The war of 1939 between the Nazis and the Western democracies too was deemed imperialistic by Stalin and the Comintern--as long as Hitler did not attack the Soviet Union.

Lenin's premises did not turn out to be valid, however. In its "highest" and "final" phase, capitalism gave the colonies their national independence. This generally happened without wars or revolutions--except in rare instances when, for instance in Indochina, there was interference by communists and, through them, the Soviet Union. In the decolonization, a certain, though not decisive, role was of course also played by humanitarianism and liberalism; wars against whole "colonial" peoples had become too expensive and unpopular.

As the dominating great capitalist power, the United States was anticolonialist. Finally, application of the highly developed technology at home was more profitable than the cheap labor in the underdeveloped countries. In short, capitalism entered the postindustrial, electronic period on the road of evolution. It avoided revolution, which Lenin had foreseen as "ineluctable" coincidentally with the fall of imperialism.

The West Is Entertaining Illusions

Soviet imperialism too is imperialism--imperialism similar to military imperialisms of the past--but the essence and nature of Soviet imperialism are not like capitalist imperialism in any respect.

The Soviet economy is based not on free labor or on profit but on the "plan" and "planning"--that is, on the determination of human and social needs by those in power or the party oligarchy. The Soviets produce no values, only quantities. With them compensation is not rendered by the market but "in accordance with work."

Hence neither production nor distribution can occur any other way than through bureaucratic plans--or through the power and stability of the ruling party bureaucracy. Voluntarism and tyranny are rooted deeply and indelibly in the Soviet system.

It follows from this that Soviet imperialism and expansionism are not motivated by an expansion of the market. What is more, they are not motivated by the search for raw materials any more strongly than by the idea that the adversary must be deprived of them--a potential adversary being anyone who has not been subjugated.

This does not mean that Soviet expansion does not also pursue material aims. On the contrary. Though immensely rich, the Soviet Union is not rich in every respect and for all times. It too welcomes inexpensive goods in great variety. But here it is not the market, the free formation of prices, that plays a significant role but political, military-ideological pressure.

Only the fear of uprisings in which the West might interfere--particularly after the uprising in Hungary in 1956--has forced the Soviet leadership occasionally to enter into market economy relations with the subjugated states.

Yet, the ruling class of the Soviet Union is also directly motivated to engage in conquests; some of its members thus climb more rapidly in the hierarchy and attain all kinds of privileges. The class as a whole, however, strengthens its position both at home and abroad. If the Soviet party bureaucracy desisted from expansion, its "messianic," "leading" role would be exposed to rapid erosion. It would then turn out that it was socially superfluous and parasitical. The decay of the system would accelerate, and changes in the social structure of the Soviet Union would become inevitable.

There are indissoluble connections between the power monopoly of the Soviet oligarchy at home and its hegemonism and expansionism abroad. Both have the immutable motive and aim of ruling over people--a rule not limited by anything temporally, and geographically only by the Soviet potential.

The Soviet Union does not effect any occupations--except in the course of military operations. And this happens for the simple reason that it does not have any need at all for occupations per se. Rather, the Soviet regime strengthens "friendly" communist vassal domination. A military presence is desirable, often even unavoidable, in order to insure the vassal system or Soviet domination. But it is not necessary in every case--vide, for example, Bulgaria, where there is no Soviet occupation but great loyalty to the Soviet Union.

To the Western, nonideological mind Soviet expansionism often appears unreasonable. This leads to the ever-recurring illusions that the Soviets will "come to see reason." Thus the West is entertaining illusions about the Soviet Union going to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan--if for no other reason than that the occupation of Afghanistan is not worth the Soviets' while and is costing them a great deal.

Soviet reason, the Soviet way of drawing conclusions, however, is quite different. The Soviet leadership regards as reasonable and ethical whatever strengthens the "state," power and party, particularly the rule of the party. This leadership

would regard as unreasonable only the kind of expansion--including the one in Afghanistan--that jeopardizes that sort of reasoning and those "absolute values."

The top Soviet leadership, or at least a certain trend among it, has already had to realize that it had underestimated the worldwide reaction to the invasion of Afghanistan. Even the East European governments did not show any enthusiasm over it. But this does not mean that the Soviet troops will withdraw from there--even if there was a predominant inclination to do so within the Soviet leadership. In such a case Moscow would proceed to negotiate and bargain.

The Soviet troops are in Afghanistan in behalf of "higher," "absolute" values--in behalf of "internationalism" embodied in the absolute rule of the Soviet party. For this reason the Soviet Union will not and cannot withdraw from Afghanistan, any more than from the other areas throughout the world, except under pressure of the superiority of opposing forces. The Soviet Union will remain there until it has strengthened the system it wants or the vassal government.

Not Capable of Pluralism

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the Soviet attitude toward the coming into being of independent trade unions in Poland. The Soviet leadership will not be ready for any pluralism, least of all a proletarian pluralism, unless it were to be forced to.

Shakespeare would say: There is method in this madness. Soviet expansions are planned thoroughly and methodically--from a worldwide perspective and for each concrete case. Could it really be otherwise, considering that it is a military expansionism of worldwide extent? Afghanistan is but a step of the ladder--leading to petroleum, to the Indian ocean, to the subjugation of Europe and European industry.

The Soviet leadership, it happens, has long since been aware of the economic and creative inferiority of its system. Khrushchev was the last to be under the illusion that it was possible to overtake the capitalist system. The Soviet leadership notices and surmises that its system can last only if it is supported by force--by a kind of force which dominates not only "at home" but the world over. Hence its uninhibited systematic expansion of military power. Hence also its concealed strategic aim, the subjugation of the industrialized West, primarily via a detour through areas rich in raw materials but underdeveloped, unstable and rebellious.

Stalin dissolved the Communist International--for the sake of the Soviet state. Communist states are already waging wars against one another. But the forces of violence get political aid from the Soviet Union throughout the world--provided that they help Soviet expansion. The international of ideological darkness and of violence continues to exist, renews itself and expands under the leadership of the Soviet Union.

But despite the expansion of its influence, despite the conquests and the military strengthening, the Soviet Union feels encircled and besieged as in the times of its birth. Could the Soviet Union indeed feel different in a world toward which the Soviet system does not and cannot adopt a "friendly" attitude--even if this world had subjugated itself?

LAW ON MOVEMENT, SOJORN OF FOREIGNERS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 56, 3 Oct 80 pp 1663-1676

[Law enacted by the SFRY Assembly]

[Text] I. General Provisions

Article 1

During their stay in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia foreign nationals may move, reside, enter into association, use their name, purchase, possess and bear weapons under the conditions prescribed by this law unless international treaty provides otherwise.

For the purpose of this law "foreigner" means any individual who is not a national of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 2

During their stay in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the foreigners must abide by the regulations and decisions of government bodies and agencies based on the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the laws of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its obligations under international treaty.

Article 3

Matters related to the movement and sojourn of foreigners in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be handled by the competent agencies in the republic or autonomous province unless federal law provides otherwise.

Article 4

Foreigners may be prohibited from entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, their movement in a specified area may be restricted or prohibited, their sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may

be revoked, or they may be prohibited from permanent residence at specified localities on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense or on grounds arising out of international relations.

Organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities and government agencies shall set forth in their enactments the conditions under which foreigners may visit and move about in those organizations and communities or agencies.

Organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities and government agencies which invite members of foreign armed forces or foreign security services or which receive and organize their visits must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

II. Travel Documents and Visas for Entering and Visiting the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

1. Travel Documents

Article 3

A foreigner may enter the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and visit on its soil if he has a valid foreign travel document or valid travel document for foreigners issued by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, furnished with a Yugoslav visa.

Foreigners who visit the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the basis of a joint (group) travel document may move about separately from the group only on the basis of a permit from the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 4

For the purpose of this law "foreign travel document" means passport (personal, family and group), diplomatic passport and official passport, seaman's passport, river and lake boatman's papers or other travel documents recognized under international treaty from which it is possible to establish the identity of its bearer, whose period of validity has not expired and which has been issued in accordance with the regulations on issuance of the travel documents of the foreign state.

The travel document of a foreign state shall not be recognized if that foreign state does not recognize the corresponding travel document of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 7

A travel document for refugees or a travel document for stateless persons, as envisaged by international treaty, shall be issued for travel abroad to a foreigner who in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been granted the status of a refugee and to a stateless person.

Article 8

The travel document for refugees and the travel document for stateless persons shall be issued by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province where the refugee or stateless person has his domicile or residence.

The travel documents referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued for a period up to 1 year.

The period of validity of the travel documents referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be extended, but their total period of validity may not be longer than 5 years.

Article 9

The foreigner's travel certificate is a travel document which is issued to a foreigner who does not have a valid travel document, as follows:

- 1) who has been granted the right of asylum in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--for travel abroad;
- 2) who has been granted the protection of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--to enter the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;
- 3) who has obtained a release from his status as a national of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--to depart abroad;
- 4) who has lost his foreign travel document or has in some other manner been left without it, when the state of which he is a national does not have a mission in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia nor are its interests represented by another state--to depart abroad;
- 5) who while abroad has lost a travel document for foreigners issued by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--for return to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The foreigner's travel certificate may also be issued to another foreigner if there are grounds which warrant it.

The foreigner's travel certificate shall be issued for a period of validity not to exceed 1 year.

Article 10

The foreigner's travel certificate shall contain the following: the words "Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]"; the number of the travel certificate; the embossed seal of the SFPRY; the words "Putni list za stranca [Foreigner's Travel Certificate]"; a place for a photograph; a place to enter data on the bearer of the travel certificate, specifically: first and last name, day, month and year of birth, place of birth, place of residence and nationality; a place for entering data on members of the bearer's family (spouse and children) traveling with him, specifically: first and last name, kinship and date of birth; a place for entering the period of validity of the travel certificate; the name of the agency issuing the travel certificate, the date of issuance of the travel certificate, the imprint of the seal of the agency issuing the travel certificate and the signature of the authorized individual.

A dry seal shall be embossed on the photograph on the travel certificate.

Article 11

The foreigner's travel certificate shall be issued to and by the following:

- 1) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1, 3 and 4, of this law--by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province;
- 2) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, of this law--by the diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad;
- 3) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 5, of this law--by a diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad, after it obtains consent to issue the travel certificate from the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs;
- 4) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 2, of this law--by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province or by a diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad, after it obtains consent to issue the travel certificate from the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 12

The travel document for refugees, the travel document for stateless persons and the foreigner's travel certificate shall be issued to individuals who have reached age 18.

Personal data on persons under age 18 shall be entered on the travel document of parent.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, when the grounds so warrant, travel documents referred to in that paragraph may also be issued to a person who has not reached age 18.

Article 13

The travel document for refugees, the travel document for stateless persons and the foreigner's travel certificate shall not be issued to a foreigner in the following cases:

- 1) if criminal or misdemeanor proceedings are being conducted against him--at the request of the competent agency;
- 2) if an unsuspended prison sentence has been pronounced against him, until he has served the sentence;
- 3) on the written request of an interested party or that party's guardian or competent agency serving as guardian--if toward that person or toward other persons in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he has not discharged an obligation in property law arising out of the marital relation or relation between parents and children which has come due;
- 4) on the written request of a competent agency of a sociopolitical community, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community--if it would not be able in any other manner to obtain discharge of an obligation to it which has come due;
- 5) if protection of law and order so requires or if the interests of national defense so demand.

In the decision adopted on the basis of Subparagraph 5 of Paragraph 1 of this article the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making the decision.

Article 14

If the grounds referred to in Article 13, Paragraph 1, of this law existed before the day when the travel document was issued, and the competent agency learned of them subsequently or if the grounds arose after the date of issuance of the travel document, the travel document shall be revoked.

The decision on revocation of a travel document shall be made by the agency competent to issue travel documents or visas.

An appeal against the decision referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall not postpone its execution.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a decision rejecting an application for issuance of a travel document or against a decision revoking a travel document.

Article 15

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province may temporarily retain a foreign travel document belonging to a foreigner in the following cases:

- 1) if criminal or misdemeanor proceedings are being conducted against him--at the request of the competent agency;
- 2) on the written request of the competent body of a sociopolitical community, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community--if it would be unable in any other manner to obtain discharge of an obligation to it which has come due;
- 3) if protection of law and order or the interests of national defense so require.

The authorized individual of the agency who has temporarily retained a foreign travel document shall issue a certificate to that effect to the foreigner whose travel document has been temporarily retained.

2. Tourist Pass

Article 16

A tourist pass may be issued at the border crossing to a foreigner who is entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a tourist visit if he possesses a valid national travel document or document establishing his identity. The tourist pass shall be issued with a period of validity not to exceed 30 days.

A tourist pass may also be issued to foreigners traveling in international maritime, river or air tours on the basis of the passenger list certified by the captain of the vessel or aircraft. The passenger list shall contain the following: first and last name, year of birth, nationality and number of the passenger's travel document.

The tourist pass shall be issued by the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring control of the national border.

Article 17

The tourist pass shall contain the following: the words "Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]," the name of the agency issuing the pass; the words "TURISTICKA

PROPUSNICA [TOURIST PASS]"; a place for entering the number and title of the travel document or other document establishing the identity of the foreigner to whom the pass is being issued; the number of the pass; a place for certifying entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; the stamp of the agency issuing the pass and instructions as to its use.

3. Visas

Article 18

A visa shall be issued to a foreigner to enter the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or to leave it or to cross the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The visa shall be issued for one trip, for several trips or for an unlimited number of trips.

The visa shall be issued with a period of validity not to exceed 1 year or to the date of expiration of the foreign travel document on which the visa is being issued if that period is less than 1 year.

A visa with a period of validity longer than 1 year may be issued under condition of reciprocity to the personnel of the diplomatic or consular mission of a foreign state in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 19

In a visa being issued on a family passport shall be entered the number of persons traveling with the bearer of the passport and who have been entered in the passport, and in the visa being issued on a joint (group) passport--the first and last name of the leader of the group and the number of members of the group.

At the request of an organization of associated labor organizing a tourist trip a visa may be issued on the list of persons traveling to foreigners visiting the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and wishing to make an excursion into a neighboring country. The first and last name of the leader of the group and the number of members of the group shall be entered in the visa.

The list referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall contain the first and last name of the members of the group and the number of their travel documents. The list shall be certified by a responsible individual in the organization of associated labor which is organizing the tourist trip.

Article 20

A transit visa shall be issued to a foreigner who seeks a visa to cross the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only if he has an

entry visa of the neighboring country to which he is traveling or across whose territory he is continuing his trip, unless international treaty has exempted him from the obligation of possessing such a visa.

Article 21

A diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad shall issue visas to the following:

- 1) to a foreigner coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to reside permanently;
- 2) to a foreigner coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a visit or to cross its territory;
- 3) to a foreigner coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or crossing its territory who possesses a diplomatic or official passport;
- 4) to a foreigner who is a seaman or a foreigner who is a [river or lake] boatman, on the seaman's or boatman's papers--if he is coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to embark on a vessel in a Yugoslav seaport, riverport or lake port, or who is crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to embark on a vessel in a foreign seaport, riverport or lake port or who is returning to his own country after disembarking from a vessel in a foreign seaport, riverport or lake port.

Article 22

The agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border shall issue a visa to a foreigner in the following cases:

- 1) if he is departing from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and his visa has expired;
- 2) if during sojourn or permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he applies for a visa to go abroad and return to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;
- 3) if he is moving permanently from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;
- 4) if he has come to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under an international treaty on local border traffic;
- 5) if in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he has lost his travel document or in some other manner been left without his travel document and is leaving the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a new travel document or with a foreigner's travel certificate;

6) if a foreigner's travel certificate has been issued to him to move permanently from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

7) if he has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a tourist pass, and the diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national has issued him a travel document.

Article 24

The federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs shall issue visas to the personnel of diplomatic or consular missions of foreign states in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to the personnel of other foreign missions which have diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 25

A visa or tourist pass shall not be issued to foreigners, that is, they shall not be allowed to enter the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in the following cases:

1) if the foreigner has committed a crime against humanity and international law;

2) if the preventive measure of deportation from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him--for the time covered by that measure;

3) if the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him--for the time covered by that measure;

4) if his sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked--for the time covered by that measure;

5) if he is listed as an international criminal in the records of the competent agency in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

6) if he possesses a travel document of a foreign state of which he is not a national, unless it is explicitly stated in that travel document that he has the right to return to the state which issued him the travel document or visa.

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs may decide that a visa or tourist pass shall not be issued to foreigners or that their entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not be allowed in other cases as well if reasons of protecting law and order so require or if this is required by protection of the interests of national defense or reasons which arise from international relations.

Article 26

An application for a visa or tourist pass may be rejected and a foreigner's entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia prohibited in the following cases:

- 1) if he has been convicted in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of a crime which is automatically prosecuted;
- 2) if he has been punished in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a foreign exchange or customs violation or for a violation of public peace and order;
- 3) if he does not have the means of support, and support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not been assured him in some other manner.

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs may specify that the competent agency may issue a visa or tourist pass to certain foreigners or may allow entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only with the prior consent of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 27

If it is established that any of the grounds referred to in Article 25 of this law existed at the time when a visa was issued or has occurred since that time, the visa shall be canceled.

If it is established that any of the reasons referred to in Article 26 of this law existed at the time when the visa was issued or occurred thereafter, the visa may be canceled.

The visa referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article may be canceled by the agency which issued the visa or other agency competent for issuing visas.

Article 28

In the decision rejecting an application for issuance of a visa or decision canceling a visa which has been issued on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense or on grounds which arise from international treaties, the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making that decision.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a decision rejecting an application for a visa or a decision canceling a visa which has been issued.

Article 29

A visa shall be issued to a foreigner who is moving permanently from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if he attaches to the visa application evidence of the following:

- 1) that he has discharged due obligations to the sociopolitical community;
- 2) that he has settled property obligations arising out of the marital relationship or relationship between parents and children toward persons living in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 30

A visa for departure from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not be issued to a foreigner if criminal or misdemeanor proceedings are being conducted against him--if the body conducting proceedings so requests.

III. Sojourn of Foreigners

1. Temporary Sojourn

Article 31

A foreigner who enters the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a foreign travel document may reside temporarily in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the period of validity of his visa and up to 3 months, but if he is passing across the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia such visits shall not exceed 7 days counted from the date when the national border was crossed.

Temporary sojourn of more than 3 months or more than 7 days may be granted to the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article at his request.

In the application for temporary sojourn the foreigner must state the reasons why he is seeking approval of temporary sojourn. If the competent agency so requires of him, the foreigner must attach to the application proof of the justifiability of the reasons for which he is seeking the granting of temporary sojourn and on his possession of the means of support or assurance of his support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in some other manner.

The application for approval of temporary sojourn shall be submitted before expiration of the period referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 32

A foreigner who comes to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to attend school, for advanced training, to conduct scientific research, to take employment or to perform a particular professional activity must file an application for approval of temporary sojourn within a period of 3 days from the date when he entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

If the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article is coming to an organization of associated labor, other self-managed organization or community, or government agency, the organization or community or government agency to which that foreigner has come is required to file application for approval of the foreigner's temporary sojourn within a period of 7 days from the date of his arrival in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 33

A foreigner shall be granted temporary sojourn by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province in which the foreigner resides.

The permit for temporary sojourn shall be issued with a period of validity not to exceed 1 year or until expiration of the foreign travel document if that period is shorter than 1 year.

When the grounds so warrant, a foreigner's temporary sojourn may be extended, each time for the period stated in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 34

Temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not be granted to a foreigner in the following cases:

- 1) if under the provisions of Article 25 of this law he cannot be granted entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;
- 2) if he has given inaccurate information about himself or has used a false document;
- 3) if he has used someone else's travel document or has given his own travel document to someone else to use;
- 4) if he has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner and has not been granted the status of refugee and has not been granted right of asylum;
- 5) if he does not have the means of support or his support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not been furnished him in some other manner;

6) if he has helped another or instigated another to cross the national border of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner.

Article 35

A foreigner's temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be terminated in the following cases:

- 1) if the security measure of deportation from the country or the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him;
- 2) if his sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked;
- 3) if the competent agency has rejected his application for temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 36

A foreigner's temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may be revoked in the following cases:

- 1) if he does not abide by the regulations in effect in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or does not carry out the decisions of the government bodies and agencies;
- 2) if he is left without means of support, and his support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not been assured him in some other manner;
- 3) if he engages in vagrancy or begging;
- 4) if reasons of protecting law and order or the interests of national defense so require.

The decision to revoke temporary sojourn shall be made by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province where the foreigner resides. The decision shall state the time within which the foreigner must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the period during which he may not come again to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

An appeal may be filed against the decision referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article within a period of 3 days from the date of receipt of the decision.

Article 37

In a decision rejecting an application for issuance of permission for temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making that decision.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a decision rejecting an application for the granting of temporary sojourn or against a decision revoking temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

2. Permanent Residence

Article 38

A foreigner may take up permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if he obtains permission from the competent agency.

The permission referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall cease to be valid unless the foreigner takes up residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within 1 year from the date when permission was delivered.

Article 39

A foreigner may be allowed to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the following cases:

- 1) if some member of his immediate family (spouse, child, parent) is a national of the SFRY or is a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;
- 2) a foreigner who has married a national of the SFRY;
- 3) a foreigner of Yugoslav origin.

In exceptional cases other foreigners may also be granted permission to take up permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The foreigner must attach to the application for permanent residence proof that the means of support have been assured him.

Article 40

The federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall grant permission for permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 41

A foreigner's right to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be terminated in the following cases:

- 1) when he moves from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;
- 2) if he remains abroad continuously longer than 1 year unless he has been granted permission for such sojourn;
- 3) if the security measure of deportation from the country or the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him;
- 4) if his further sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked.

The decision on termination of the right to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be made by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 42

In the decision rejecting an application for the granting of permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making such a decision.

The foreigner may file an appeal with the Federal Executive Council against a decision rejecting his application for the granting of permanent residence and against a decision to terminate the right to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against the ruling made on the appeal referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 43

Further sojourn of a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may be revoked in the following cases:

- 1) if he has been convicted of a crime against the foundations of the system of socialist self-management and the security of the SFRY or other grave crime;
- 2) if he has been left without means of support, and his support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not been assured in some other manner;

3) if reasons of protecting law and order or the interests of national defense so require.

The decision revoking the further sojourn of a foreigner who has been granted permission to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be made by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province where the foreigner has his domicile.

In a decision revoking the further stay of a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making such a decision.

The decision referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall state the period within which the foreigner must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That period of time may not be shorter than 30 days nor longer than 6 months.

3. Right of Asylum

Article 44

A foreigner who has been persecuted because of his efforts on behalf of democratic views and movements, social and national liberation, freedom and the rights of the individual or on behalf of the freedom of scientific or artistic creativity shall be granted the right of asylum in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 45

The official heading the Federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall decide on recognizing or revoking the right of asylum.

A foreigner whose right of asylum has been recognized shall also attain the right of permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 46

A foreigner who has been granted right of asylum shall be provided housing, means of support, and health care.

Funds for housing, support, and health care of foreigners granted the right of asylum shall be provided from the federal budget.

The term "housing" in Paragraph 1 of this article means making an appropriate dwelling available for use or granting financial aid necessary to obtain housing space.

The federal administrative agency competent for matters of health and social welfare shall see to the housing, allocation of means of support and health care of foreigners who have been granted the right of asylum.

Article 47

The amount of money required for housing and support of foreigners who have been granted the right of asylum and the extent of health care, the standards and conditions governing the use and manner of obtaining that form of health care shall be defined by the Federal Executive Council for each individual case, but on the recommendation of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs and the federal administrative agency competent for matters of health and social welfare.

Article 48

A foreigner's right of asylum may be revoked if he acts against the system established by the SFRY Constitution or against the international interests of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The decision revoking the right of asylum shall also state the period within which the foreigner must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That period may not be shorter than 30 days nor longer than 6 months.

Article 49

A foreigner may file an appeal with the Federal Executive Council against a decision rejecting his application for recognition of the right of asylum and against a decision revoking his right of asylum.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against the ruling issued on the appeal referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

4. Refugees

Article 50

A foreigner who has left the state of which he is a national or in which he had permanent residence as a stateless person in order to avoid persecution because of his progressive political aspirations or his ethnic origin, race or religion may be granted the status of refugee in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 51

Refugee status shall not be granted to a foreigner if there is warranted suspicion that he has committed a crime against humanity and international law or that he has acted contrary to the aims and principles of the Organization of the United Nations.

A foreigner's application for recognition of refugee status may also be rejected on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense.

If the grounds referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article existed before recognition of refugee status, and the competent agency learned of them later, or if they occurred after recognition of that status, refugee status shall be revoked.

The federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall bear general responsibility for the reception, housing and assurance of funds for support of foreigners granted the status of refugees.

Article 52

The children of foreigners who have been granted refugee status shall enjoy all the rights of their parents who have been granted refugee status.

Upon reaching age 18 the individuals referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be treated like other foreigners residing temporarily in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 53

The federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall decide on recognition or revoking of refugee status.

A foreigner may file an appeal with the Federal Executive Council against a decision rejecting his application for recognition of refugee status or against a decision revoking his refugee status.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against the ruling issued on the appeal referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 54

A foreigner's refugee status shall be terminated in the following cases:

- 1) if he seeks protection of the state of which he is a national or where he had permanent residence as a stateless person;
- 2) if he may return to the state of which he is a national or in which he had permanent residence as a stateless person once the reasons for which he fled from that state have ceased;
- 3) if he voluntarily returns to the state from which he fled;
- 4) if he takes on the nationality of another state.

Article 55

A foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized shall be provided the necessary housing, the necessary means of support and health care until his departure to another country or until he acquires the means of supporting himself, but no longer than 2 years from the date when the application was made for recognition of refugee status. The time restriction shall not apply to a foreigner who is not capable of gainful employment and cannot support himself independently.

The terms "necessary housing and necessary means of support" in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article mean financial aid necessary to provide housing space and to support the foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized and the members of his family. The amount of money shall be determined according to the number and age of members of his family who are not nationals of the SFRY, financial condition, fitness for gainful employment, and as a function of whether the foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized is undergoing specialized training.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 2 of this article, necessary housing and necessary means of support also refer to compensation of expenses of placing a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized in an appropriate organization of associated labor if that placement or accommodation is necessary because he is old and alone or incapable of gainful employment.

Necessary means of support and necessary housing of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized and to compensate the expenses referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article shall be furnished in the federal budget.

Article 56

The amount of money necessary for the support of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized and to provide them necessary housing, and the scope of health care and scales and conditions for the use and manner of obtaining these forms of care shall be prescribed by the Federal Executive Council.

Article 57

A refugee reception center may be organized to house foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized.

The reception center referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be established and administered by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized shall be sent to the reception center for refugees by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

The agency referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall see that those foreigners are furnished means of support and health care while they are in the reception center for refugees.

Article 58

The federal administrative agency competent for matters of health and social welfare, in collaboration with the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs, shall see to the housing and furnishing of necessary means of support of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized and who are not housed in the reception center for refugees and of fitting them for self-support.

Article 59

The place of residence of a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized and who has not been placed in a reception center for refugees shall be determined by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

The decision on furnishing housing and on allocation of necessary funds for support of the foreigners referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be made by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province in which that foreigner's place of residence has been determined.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a final decision as referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 60

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province shall revoke sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized if this is required to protect law and order or to protect the interests of national defense, or if his refugee status has been revealed.

The decision revoking a foreigner's sojourn as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article must state the period of time in which the foreigner must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The time necessary for the foreigner to be received by another state shall be taken into account in fixing that period.

In the decision revoking sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense, the competent agency must not state the reasons which guided it in making that decision.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against the decision revoking sojourn of a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized.

5. Forcible Removal

Article 61

A foreigner against whom the security measure of deportation from the country or the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or whose sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked, or who is in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia without approval of the competent agency must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within the period of time fixed by the competent agency.

If the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article does not leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within the period specified, but does have a valid travel document, he shall be escorted to the national border and forcibly removed from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article who does not leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within the period specified and does not have a valid travel document shall be sent or escorted to the diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national to obtain a travel document. If that mission refuses to issue the foreigner a travel document, the foreigner shall be sent or escorted to the national border and turned over to the competent agency of a neighboring state if he is a national of that state or to the competent agency of another state which consents to receive him.

When the agency in the republic or autonomous province escorts a foreigner to the reception center for aliens or to the national border for removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that agency must first obtain the consent of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs. At the latest that consent shall be given within 2 days from the date of receipt of the request for consent.

Article 62

A reception center for aliens shall be organized to house the foreigner referred to in Article 61 of this law, a foreigner who has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner or is residing in it without the permission of the competent agency, the foreigner whose identity cannot be established, the foreigner whose temporary sojourn has not been approved or whose right of asylum or refugee status has not been recognized, and who for whatsoever reason cannot be immediately removed from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The reception center referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be established and administered by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

The decision to send a foreigner to the reception center for aliens shall be made by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs on the recommendation of the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 63

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province may assign a mandatory place of residence or may send to another place where his support is provided for the foreigner referred to in Article 61 of this law or a foreigner who has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner or who is residing in it without permission of the competent agency, or a foreigner whose identity cannot be established, or a foreigner who has not been granted temporary sojourn or whose right of asylum or refuge status has not been recognized, and who for whatsoever reason cannot be immediately removed from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and who has the means of support or whose support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been provided for in some other manner.

Article 64

The costs of escorting a foreigner to a diplomatic or consular mission or to the reception center for aliens or to the national border shall be charged to the foreigner being escorted.

If the foreigner being escorted does not have funds, the costs of escorting him shall be charged to the federal budget.

6. Wearing of Uniforms in Uniforms

Article 65

Foreigners are worn in foreign military uniform during sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the following cases:

1) If they are members of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as members of a diplomatic or consular mission of a foreign state or other foreign mission which has diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the capacity of military representatives, during the life of that mission.

2) If they are members of military delegations, divisions or foreign military delegations who are on official visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

3) if they are attending school in the schools of the Yugoslav People's Army;

4) if as members of foreign military missions or foreign military delegations they are crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with diplomatic or official passports.

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for matters of national defense may in agreement with the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs grant approval to other foreigners to wear a foreign military uniform during their sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 66

During sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia foreigners may wear a foreign police uniform or uniform of a foreign customs officer in the following cases:

1) if as members of delegations of foreign police or foreign customs authorities they are making an official visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

2) while they are performing official duties in joint monitoring of the crossing of the national border in that portion of the border crossing which belongs to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) if as members of foreign police or foreign customs delegations they are crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a diplomatic or official passport.

7. Establishment and Termination of Associations of Foreigners

Article 67

Foreigners residing in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may establish associations to accomplish cultural, scientific, technical and other similar goals.

Article 68

Associations of foreigners shall be established on the basis of approval of the competent agency.

A permit for establishment of an association of foreigners operating on the territory of one republic or autonomous province shall be issued by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province, but the permit for establishing an association of foreigners which operates over the entire territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or on the

territory of the republic (provinces) shall be issued by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 69

The establishment of an association of foreigners may be approved on application of at least 10 adult foreigners who are permanent residents of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or who have resided in it longer than 1 year.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, a permit to establish an association of foreigners may also be granted to foreigners who have spent less than 1 year in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if their visit is to attend school, to undergo specialization, to conduct scientific research, to take employment or to perform a specified professional activity.

Article 70

The application for a permit to establish an association of foreigners should contain the following: the association's name and the location of its headquarters, the purposes of the association and the means by which those purposes are to be achieved. The minutes of the founding assembly of the association and the rules (bylaws) of the association which have been adopted shall be attached to the application in duplicate.

The rules (bylaws) of the association of foreigners should contain the following: the purpose of the association and the means by which that purpose is to be attained; the rights and duties of members of the association; rights and duties of the organs of the association; the procedure for enrollment of members of the association; termination of membership and withdrawal from the association; representation of the association; the manner in which the means necessary to operate the association are to be furnished; the name of the headquarters of the association and the manner of disposition of property in case of termination of the association.

The founders must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of the holding of the founding assembly of the association of foreigners.

Article 71

If the agency competent to issue the permit in connection with association of foreigners finds that the rules (bylaws) of the association do not contain certain of the elements which have essential importance for granting the permit for establishment of the association, it shall call upon the founders to supplement the rules within a specified period.

Article 72

The establishment of an association of foreigners shall be approved in a decision containing the following: the name of the association, the association's activity, the association's address and the geographic area in which the association may operate.

The agency competent to grant the permit to establish an association of foreigners shall keep records on associations whose establishment it has approved.

An association of foreigners shall acquire the status of a legal person and may commence operation as of the date when the decision approving the establishment becomes valid.

One copy of the rules (bylaws) of the association, certified by the agency which has approved establishment of the association, shall be returned to the founders with the decision approving establishment of the association of foreigners.

Article 73

An application for approval of establishment of an association of foreigners shall be rejected and the operation of the association of foreigners prohibited if its activity does not conform to the rules (bylaws) of the association or if it is aimed at the following:

- 1) overthrow or alteration of the system established by the SFRY Constitution;
- 2) disruption of the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia and incitement of ethnic, racial or religious enmity;
- 3) threatening the independence and territorial integrity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or threatening peace or equal international cooperation;
- 4) the committing of criminal acts or instigation of the committing of such acts.

An appeal may be filed with the Federal Executive Council against a decision rejecting an application for approval of establishment of an association of foreigners or against a decision prohibiting operation of an association of foreigners and that decision was made by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a decision rejecting an application for approval of establishment of an association of foreigners or a decision prohibiting the operation of an association of foreigners.

Article 74

A foreigner may be a member of an association of citizens of the SFRY if this is provided for in the rules (bylaws) of that association.

Article 75

The lawfulness of the activity of an association of foreigners shall be monitored by the agency which made the decision to allow establishment of that association.

8. The Purchase and Bearing of Arms and Use of Personal Name

Article 76

During sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a foreigner may purchase, bear and possess weapons and ammunition under the conditions set forth by the statute of the republic or autonomous province.

Article 77

During sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a foreigner must use the personal name which he has received under the statutes of his own country unless law or international treaty provide otherwise.

IV. Notification of Arrival at and Departure From Place of Residence and Domicile

Article 78

A foreigner residing in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of his sojourn and his change of address, and a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence must also give notification when he takes up or leaves his domicile.

Article 79

For the purpose of this law "place of residence" means the town or place in which the foreigner is residing temporarily.

For the purpose of this law "domicile" means the town or place in which the foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is settled with the intention of living in it permanently.

Article 80

A foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of his domicile and change of address within that town or place within a period of 8 days from the date of his arrival at the domicile or from the date of change of address and shall report his temporary residence and change of address within 24 hours from arrival at the town or place of temporary residence or from the date of change of address in that place.

A foreigner must give notice of removal from his domicile before the date when he is to leave the domicile.

Article 81

Organizations of associated labor, other self-managed organizations and individuals who provide lodgings to foreigners for compensation, as well as individuals whom foreigners come to visit are required to report the sojourn of foreigners to the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province within 12 hours from the date of providing the lodgings to the foreigner or from the date of the foreigner's arrival for the visit.

A foreigner who does not use lodgings referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of his sojourn and change of address on the day after arrival in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or within 24 hours from the date of change of place of residence or change of address.

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs may in agreement with the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs prescribe that certain foreigners shall not be required to give notice of their sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The sojourn of foreigners may also be reported through tourist organizations.

Article 82

Organizations of associated labor, other self-managed organizations and individuals offering lodgings to foreigners for compensation must keep records on the foreigners to whom they furnish lodgings--a book of foreigners.

The book of foreigners shall be certified by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

Organizations and individuals referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are required to keep a book of foreigners at least 3 years after the date when it is closed.

Organizations and individuals referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are required to allow an authorized individual of a competent agency to examine the book of foreigners.

V. Documents To Prove Identity

Article 83

A foreigner may prove his identity with the following: a foreign travel document, a travel document for foreigners issued by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, an alien identity card or other document furnished with a photograph by which his identity can be established.

At the request of an authorized individual of a competent agency the foreigner is required to show the document by which he proves his identity.

1. Alien Identity Card

Article 84

An alien identity card shall be issued to the following: to a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to a foreigner whose temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been granted if he does not have a foreign travel document.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, an alien identity card may be issued to a foreigner who has been granted temporary residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia though he has a valid foreign travel document, if that foreigner or diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national submits an application for issuance of an alien identity card.

A special identity card shall be issued to a foreigner who is a member of a diplomatic or consular mission of a foreign state or a member of another foreign mission which has diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 85

The alien identity card shall be issued by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province in which is located the domicile or residence of the foreigner to whom the alien identity card is being issued.

An imprint shall be taken of the index finger of the right hand of the foreigner who is being issued an alien identity card.

The federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs shall issue the special identity card referred to in Article 84, Paragraph 3, of this law.

Article 86

An application for issuance of an alien identity card may be filed by a foreigner who has reached age 18 and also by a foreigner under age 18 who has married or who has taken employment.

Article 87

The application for issuance of the alien identity card shall be made on the prescribed form.

The application for issuance of the alien identity card shall be accompanied by two photographs of the prescribed size which faithfully portray the applicant or the person for whom the application is being filed.

Article 88

The application for issuance of an alien identity card shall be filed within a period of 30 days from the date of arrival of the foreigner at his domicile or place of residence or within 30 days from the date when the foreigner has married or taken up employment.

Article 89

The form of the alien identity card shall contain the following: the words "Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija"; the name of the agency which issued the alien identity card; the words "Osobna karta za stranca [Alien Identity Card]"; the number of the identity card; a place for a photograph; a place for entering data on the foreigner, specifically: first and last name, day, month and year of birth, place of birth, nationality, domicile and address, basis on which the foreigner is residing in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, date of issuance of the alien identity card; stamp of the agency which issued the alien identity card and signature of the authorized individual.

Article 90

The alien identity card shall be issued to a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a period of validity of 5 years.

An alien identity card shall be issued to a foreigner who has been granted temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until expiration of the permit for temporary sojourn, but no longer than 1 year.

The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

Article 11

A foreigner who is in the USSR shall be liable for the passport.

A foreigner who is in the USSR shall be liable for the passport.

Article 12

The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

Article 13

A foreigner who is in the USSR shall be liable for the passport.

1. The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

2. The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

3. The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

4. The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

Article 14

The passport is valid for travel to the USSR and the countries included in the passport validity zone for a period of 12 months.

Yugoslavia must be reported by the foreigner without delay, and no later than within 24 hours from the moment of learning of the loss or disappearance of the alien identity card or other document proving identity, to the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province in which he has lost the document or in which he has learned of its disappearance or loss.

The agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall issue the foreigner a certificate to the effect that he has reported the loss or disappearance of his alien identity card or other document proving identity.

Article 95

A foreigner who while abroad has lost his travel document issued by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or remains without it in some other manner must report this to the nearest diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad.

The diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad shall issue to the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article a new travel document after having obtained consent of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 96

A foreigner who in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia loses his travel document or is left without it in some other manner must accompany his application for issuance of a new travel document or his application for issuance of a visa on a new foreign travel document by the certificate that he has reported the loss or disappearance of the travel document which he previously had.

VI. Records and Reporting

Article 97

Records shall be kept on foreigners who are permanent residents, on foreigners who are temporary residents or who are crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on establishment and termination of associations of foreigners, and on the documents and visas issued to foreigners by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The records referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be kept by the competent agencies in the republic or autonomous province, by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs, by the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs and by diplomatic or consular missions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad, each within its respective jurisdiction.

Article 98

Records on expenditure of funds for housing and material support of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized shall be kept by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province shall report to the federal administrative agency competent for affairs of health and social welfare on expenditure of funds referred to in paragraph 1 of this article.

VII. Authoritative and Oversight

Article 99

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs is hereby authorized as follows:

- 1) to prescribe the manner of issuance of travel and other documents and visas to foreigners, the manner of approval of temporary sojourn, the manner of approval of permanent residence, the manner of recognition of refugee status, the reporting of arrival at and departure from domicile and residence and procedure for keeping the register of aliens;
- 2) to prescribe the form of the travel document for foreigners, the tourist pass, the alien identity card, the permit for permanent residence, the permit for temporary sojourn and the visa issued to foreigners, as well as the forms of applications for their issuance;
- 3) to prescribe the form on which arrival at and departure from domicile and residence shall be reported and the forms of records which are to be kept under the provisions of this law by organizations of associated labor, other self-managed organizations and individuals providing lodgings to foreigners;
- 4) to prescribe the manner of keeping records and of reporting on foreigners who are permanent residents, foreigners who are temporary residents or who are crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and on travel documents and visas issued to foreigners by the competent agencies in the republic or autonomous province;
- 5) to fix the price which the competent agencies shall collect for the forms of the documents which they issue to foreigners.

Article 100

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs is authorized to prescribe the following in agreement with the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs:

1) the manner of issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners in diplomatic or consular missions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad;

2) the form and manner of issuance of the special identity card issued to members of diplomatic or consular missions of foreign states or to members of other foreign missions which have diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) the manner of issuance of visas to members of diplomatic or consular missions of foreign states or to members of other foreign missions which have diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

4) the manner of keeping records and of reporting on travel documents and visas issued to foreigners in diplomatic or consular missions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad.

Article 101

With respect to the matters of entry, movement and sojourn of foreigners, personal name, association, purchase, possession and bearing of arms, the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs may issue binding instructions for enforcement of this law to agencies in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 102

With respect to the matters of issuing travel documents to foreigners, approval of sojourn (temporary sojourn, permanent residence), recognition of refugee status, recognition of right of asylum, notification of arrival at and departure from domicile and residence, and associations of foreigners, the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs may also conduct inspection concerning enforcement of federal regulations.

The agency in the republic or autonomous province in which inspection is conducted under the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article must facilitate scrutiny of articles which pertain to enforcement of the respective federal regulations and furnish the necessary data and reports.

If it finds that the agency in the republic or autonomous province in which an inspection is conducted is not enforcing federal regulations in the areas enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article or if it establishes irregularity in enforcement of these regulations, the official conducting the inspection shall so inform the official who heads that agency and the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs and shall propose the steps which should be taken.

Article 103

Overnight shelter and expenditure on food for housing and material support of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized shall be performed by the federal administrative agency competent for matters of health and social welfare.

VIII. Punitive Provisions

Article 104

An organization of associated labor or other legal person shall be fined up to 50,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) If it does not inform the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of the arrival of members of foreign armed forces or foreign security forces (Article 4, Paragraph 3);

2) If within the prescribed period it does not do a report for the temporary stay of foreigners (Article 11, Paragraph 2);

3) If within the prescribed period it does not report to the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province the seizure of a foreigner to whom it furnishes lodging or if it files a late report (Article 81, Paragraph 1);

4) If it does not keep or does not keep up to date the book of foreigners to whom it furnishes lodging (Article 82, Paragraph 1);

5) If it does not allow an authorized individual of a competent agency to examine the book of foreigners to whom it has furnished lodging (Article 82, Paragraph 4).

The individual responsible in the organization of associated labor or other legal person shall also be fined up to 2,000 dinars for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 105

An individual furnishing lodgings to foreigners for compensation shall be liable to a fine up to 1,000 dinars or imprisonment up to 30 days for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) If within the prescribed period he does not report to the competent agency the seizure of a foreigner to whom he furnishes lodging or if he submits a false report (Article 81, Paragraph 1);

2) If he does not keep or does not keep up to date a book of foreigners to whom he furnishes lodgings for compensation (Article 82, Paragraph 1);

3) if he does not make it possible for an authorized individual of a competent agency to examine the book of foreigners to whom he has furnished lodgings (Article 82, Paragraph 4).

An individual whom a foreigner has visited shall also be liable to a fine up to 2,000 dinars for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 1, of this article.

The protective measure of prohibition of the furnishing of lodgings may also be pronounced for a period of time not to exceed 2 years against an individual furnishing lodgings to foreigners for compensation.

Article 106

A foreigner shall be liable to a fine up to 3,000 dinars or imprisonment up to 30 days for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

- 1) if he enters the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when his entry has been prohibited under the provisions of Article 25 of this law;
- 2) if he gives inaccurate information about himself or uses a false document (Article 34, Subparagraph 2);
- 3) if he uses someone else's travel document or gives his own travel document to someone else to use (Article 34, Subparagraph 3);
- 4) if he has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner and his refugee status or right of asylum has not been recognized (Article 34, Subparagraph 4);
- 5) if he has helped someone else or instigated someone else to cross the national border of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner (Article 34, Subparagraph 6);
- 6) if he enters the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the period in which his temporary sojourn has been revoked (Article 36, Paragraph 2);
- 7) if within the period specified in the decision of the competent agency he does not leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Article 61, Paragraph 1).

The protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may also be pronounced against the foreigner for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 107

A foreigner shall be liable to a fine up to 2,000 dinars or imprisonment up to 15 days for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

- 1) if he moves, resides or takes up permanent residence in a particular place or in a particular area in which the movement, sojourn or settlement of foreigners is restricted or prohibited (Article 4, Paragraph 1);
- 2) if he remains in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia more than 2 days beyond the date stated in the visa, tourist pass or permit for temporary sojourn or if within the prescribed period he does not file an application for approval of temporary sojourn (Article 16, Paragraph 1; Article 31, Paragraph 1; and Article 32, Paragraph 1);
- 3) if he leaves his place of residence designated for him by the competent agency (Article 63);
- 4) if during sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he wears a foreign military, police or customs uniform contrary to the provisions of law (Articles 65 and 66);
- 5) if within the prescribed period he does not report to the competent agency his taking up domicile, change of address in his domicile or if he does not report removal from his domicile before he leaves the place or town which is his domicile (Article 80);
- 6) if he evades reporting to the competent agency his residence or change of address at the place or town of his residence (Article 81, Paragraph 2);
- 7) if he refuses to show to an authorized individual of a competent agency the document whereby he proves his identity (Article 83, Paragraph 2);
- 8) if he gives his identity card to someone else to use or if he uses someone else's alien identity card (Article 91, Paragraph 2).

An authorized individual of the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border may collect a fine of 300 dinars on the spot from a foreigner for the act referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, of this article.

Article 108

A foreigner shall be liable for a fine up to 1,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

- 1) if he does not report to the competent agency his sojourn and change of address at the town or place of his residence when he is not staying in the facility of an organization of associated labor, other self-managed

organization or individual offering lodgings to foreigners or if he does not stay with an individual he is visiting (Article 81, Paragraph 2);

2) if within the prescribed period he does not file application for issuance of an alien identity card (Article 88);

3) if within the prescribed period he does not file application with the competent agency for replacement of his alien identity card (Article 92, Paragraph 2);

4) if within the prescribed period he does not report to the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province the disappearance or loss of his alien identity card, travel document or other document proving identity (Article 94, Paragraph 1).

IX. Final Provisions

Article 109

The Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreigners in Yugoslavia (SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ, No 6, 1973) shall cease to be valid on the day when this law takes effect.

Article 110

This law shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045

CSO: 2800

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DATE FILMED

DECEMBER 1, 1980

Debbie